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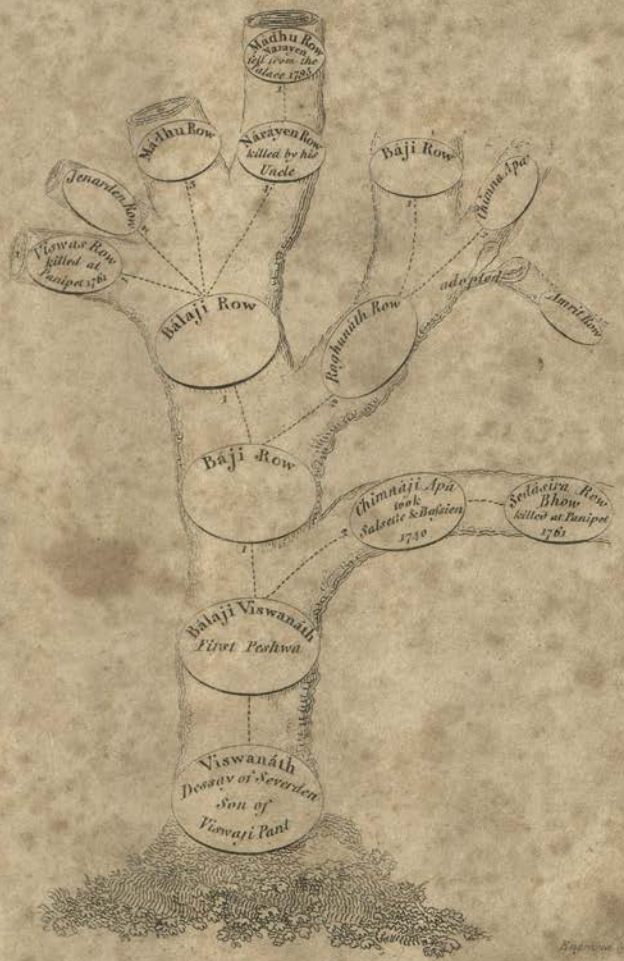

A

HISTORY OF THE MAHRATTAS;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

AN HISTORICAL

SKETCH OF THE DECAN:

45814

CONTAINING

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE

RISE AND FALL OF THE MOOSLIM SOVEREIGNTIES

PRIOR TO THE ÆRA OF

MAHRATTA INDEPENDENCE.

By EDWARD SCOTT WARING,

AUTHOR OF A TOUR TO SHEERAZ.

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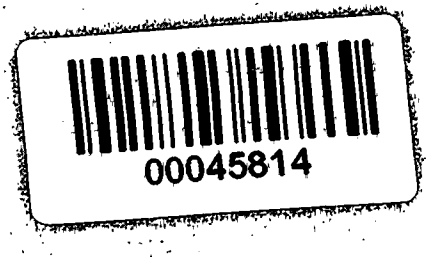

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PREFACE.

IN delivering this work to the Public, I do so with undissembled alarm. Though not a first attempt, I cannot boast of acquired confidence: my first essay has but convinced me of the dangers I have to encounter, without affording me much encouragement to hope for very general applause. The bark however is now launched; the sails are loosened, and whether it be buffeted about at the mercy of the waves, or sail securely to its destined haven, I must submit. I have ventured a second time on an unknown sea, and must abide by the result of my temerity. Yet I feel anxious to deprecate the judgement of some partial friends, who have anticipated more information than I fear they will receive; and whose disappointment therefore will be commensurate with their expectation. At the same time I must assume the merit of having considered my subject most fully, and of having spared no pains to procure every possible record that could add greater interest to my work, or justify the favourable opinion of my friends. Still some, I apprehend, knowing the advantages I have possessed, may conceive that I have failed in the execution of my attempt; not considering that the superstructure

must be in proportion to the materials employed. Of these materials I have had frequent occasions to complain; not only at their extreme conciseness, but also at their want of those striking incidents which can alone render any history a favourite with the Public. I have consoled myself however, that, to the students of Indian history, it may not be altogether unacceptable, as it will show them what the Mahrattas possess upon this subject, and the little hope there remains, failing at the fountain source, of other channels supplying additional information. To more general readers I can offer few arguments to overcome the irksomeness of continually meeting with harsh names, and words difficult to be pronounced, or with the minute explanations of ceremonies they may not have known, and which are not calculated to excite curiosity or interest. Yet the Mahrattas were once a mighty nation; how they rose, and how they fell, may surely challenge inquiry.

However much I may regret the scantiness of my materials, and the paucity of striking events, I must still congratulate myself that my inquiries have not often led me to consult Persian authorities. None, so far as I can judge, can be more fallacious, or can less requite the diligence of patient investigation. Ferishta, who composed a general history of India, as well as a particular history of the Decan, is almost the only historian who merits the praise of impartiality and accuracy. He died before the æra of Mahratta independence, and his mantle has not fallen upon any of his brethren. The Mooslims, of course, view with animosity and anguish, the progress the Mahrattas have made in the conquest of their fairest provinces; and which of late years must have been

aggravated by the bondage of their king, the unfortunate representative of the house of Timoor. From such persons little that was favourable to the Mahratta character could be expected. The facts they give are garbled and perverted, while the slightest circumstance against them is seized upon, and extended to an immeasurable length. Their style is also a subject of just reprehension. Their forced and unnatural images, their swelling cadences, and modulated phraseology, are as disgusting to a discriminating taste, as they must be inimical to historical truth. For in a history composed in verse, something will be sacrificed to measure, and much to rhyme. Although the Persian histories be not written in verse, yet they partake of all its faults. They abound in quaint similes and forced antithesis, while the redundancy of their epithets distract and bewilder attention. If this judgement to the Persian scholar seem harsh, I refer him to the history of the late Nizam of the Decan, or, if he object, to the undisputed master of this prurient style, the celebrated Abul Fazil.

Not so the Mahratta histories. Their historians (some will deny them the name) write in a plain, simple, and unaffected style, content to relate passing events in apposite terms, without seeking turgid imagery or inflated phraseology. Excepting in the letter addressed to the Peshva, by the great Mulhar Rao Holkar, no attempt is made to make the worse appear the better reason. Victory and defeat are briefly related; if they pass over the latter too hastily, they do not dwell upon the former with unnecessary minuteness. They do not endeavour to bias or mislead the judgement, but are certainly greatly deficient in chronology and in histo-

rical reflections. Whether I have done justice to their works I am at a loss to determine, aware of my own incompetency, and not ignorant of the deficiency of my materials. Yet, without arrogance, I may assume the merit of having been the first to present the reader with a connected history of the Mahrattas, derived from original sources, and sources till lately not known to have existed. I am aware that some portions of Mahratta history are before the Public; none, however, derived from their own annals, and consequently neither so copious nor so authentic. I mention, with some repugnance, lest it should create an undue expectation, that I was attached for seven years to the embassy at Poona, and of course had greater opportunities of gaining information upon many points, than usually fall to the lot of other persons. I state this to excuse the presumption of my undertaking, aware that I expose myself to the charge of having trifled with my time, and of having lost opportunities not to be recovered.

The orthography of Asiatic names is a constant source of complaint, and from persons who possibly have not experienced the difficulty of expressing in the Roman character the harsh and guttural sounds of which many of the eastern names are compounded. On this head I have already experienced the lash of the critic, and certainly the instances he adduced were sufficiently ludicrous; yet, had he attended to my declaration that I had adopted the system of Mr. Gilchrist, he would have attacked the master and not the scholar. In the present work I have not adhered to any system, whether to better purpose I shall not inquire.

It may be made an objection that I have not brought down this history beyond the year 1773. To this I reply, that the history of the Mahrattas since that period, is sufficiently known; that all the leading features exist in a variety of publications; and that I could not have written without the *recentibus odiis*, or without strong prepossessions. Such being the case, I trust to have made a sufficient excuse, even if the first plea should not be admitted.

I would add, that upon mended judgement, if I err not in saying so, there are some expressions I have wished to alter, but which could not be corrected in an errata; and which, owing to the high price of printing, could not be otherwise amended; such as, "mild," "humane," "inoffensive" Hindoos, and other epithets which I would wish expunged. Many terms are used from force of habit, without the slightest consideration, and sometimes in relation to other subjects. Thus in regard to the Hindoos, they are usually styled "mild" or "humane," and certainly are so in contradistinction to the implacable and bigotted Mooslim; yet, as a nation, unworthy of the epithet, when we reflect on their human sacrifices and frequent parricides. I should have refrained from noticing these venial errors, had I not seen the slightest authority, for want of better, *pressed* into the service of particular persons, and involved in the support of arguments they abhor or contemn. I disclaim such injustice, and most sincerely trust that nothing will be found in this work inimical to the attempt of those good men who have felt it a duty to diffuse the light of Christianity among a benighted and besotted nation, and whose reward, as might have been expected, has been revilings and enmity, with derision and contempt.

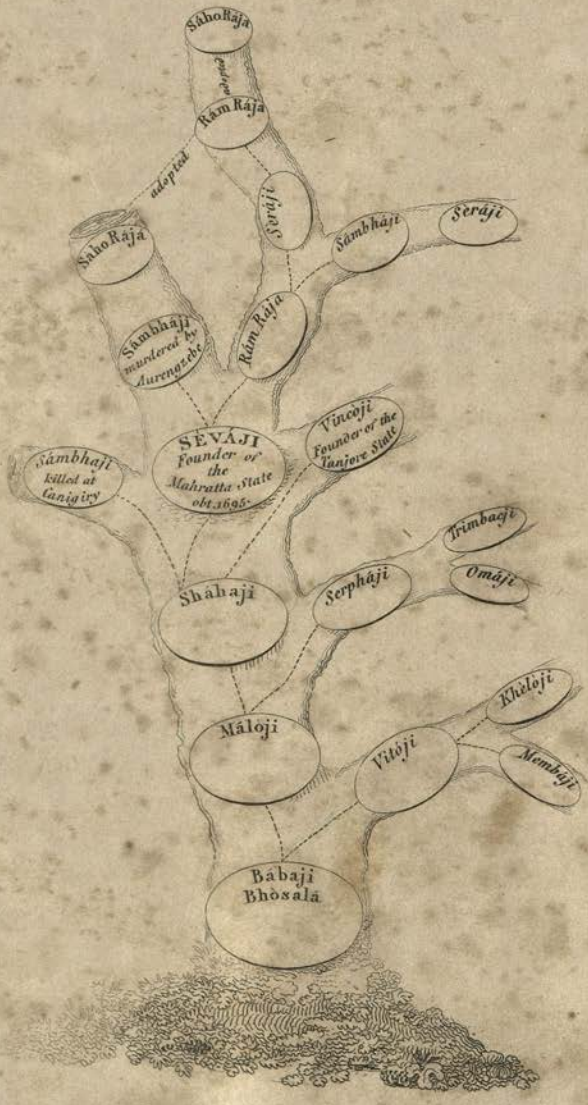
In the preface to the second edition of my Tour to Sheeraz, the name of Mehdi Ali Khan was casually mentioned, and I "doubted "his knowledge of the ancient language of Persia, as well as his "reputed virtues." In the first opinion I merely agreed with Chardin and Sir William Jones, who deemed it a lost language; and if I had foreseen that the latter opinion would have given the uneasiness I learn it has to his surviving friends, I should have abstained from any reflection upon his character, as I find from those who long knew him, that my opinion was unjust. Should that work pass through another edition, the obnoxious paragraph shall be omitted.

I now deliver this work to the Public, unwilling to deprecate its judgement, yet ready to submit to its decision.

ERRATA.

Page 50,	Dele note.				
52,	note,	*for*	Bureea,	*read*	Bureed.
53,	—	—	Ferisht,	—	Ferishta.
62,	—	—	Note 8,	—	Note 2.
69,	line 18,	—	Jurud,	—	Surud.
87,	— 7,	—	Raipi,	—	Rairi.
104,	— 15,	—	bee,	—	beef.
119,	— 17,	—	Zoolpecar,	—	Zoolfecar.
135,	— 9,	—	Butal,	—	Bulal.
138,	— 3,	—	Bajeen,	—	Baseen.
147,	— 13,	—	Sulabur,	—	Sulabut.
151,	— 13,	—	Dhahore,	—	Dharhore.
154,	— 9,	—	they,	—	the.
196,	— 8,	—	Mr. Goware,	—	Mr. Gowan.

Genealogy of the Sitara Rajas



Penny sc.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF

THE DECAN.

CHAPTER I.

THE Decan or southern part of Hindoostan comprehends the countries lying south of the Nerbuda and Cutak rivers[1]. A country of such vast extent; divided by mountains, manners, and religion, and inhabited by a various and distinct race of people; must necessarily have been subject to a number of independent chieftains. But unfortunately, we possess no authentic accounts of the Decan prior to the Mooslim æra; nor does it seem probable that we shall ever receive any farther information from the fabulous mines of Sanscrit literature[2]. The history of the first ages is replete with allegory and fable. And where could we find more, than in the narratives of a people who defy all rational chronology; whose plains and rivers are sanctified by the manifestation of the Almighty; and whose soil has been dyed with the

Introduction.

[1] Rennell's Memoirs, p. 51.

[2] Of these fabulous mines, I have already spoken (Tour to Sheeraz); nor is my opinion in the least shaken by the publication of the 1st vol. of the Ramayana.

blood of monsters, giants, and demons? Yet we are familiar with the immemorial usages of the East. We know them to be nearly the same at the present moment, as in the age of Alexander; and from their science and philosophy at that period, we may infer the antiquity of their civil and political institutions[3]. But from the inexcusable apathy of distant ages, we are abandoned to our conjectures on eastern monarchies; no light directs our anxious inquiries, and no clue is given us to unravel the inexplicable mazes of Hindoo religion and fable. For it is possible that their mythology may conceal real events, and that Kristna or Rama were real personages, whose actions have been magnified and extended by the superstitious impostures of the priest, and the blind credulity of the people[4].

Derivation of the Decan.

Although we may not be disgusted with the absurd tales of the Hindoo legends, it is to be feared that the Mooslim derivation of the Decan will not be found more deserving of belief. According to Ferishta, the southern division of Hindoostan derives its origin from Dekhun, the son of Hind, the son of Ham, the son of Noah; while his three sons, Mheerut, Kuz, and Telinga, gave their names to three divisions of that vast empire. Whatever may have been its origin, it

[3] The ordinances of Menu, supposed by Sir William Jones to have been written 1280 years before Christ.

[4] Rama was probably the Rameh of Scripture, who is said to have journeyed into the East, and the Bacchus of the Greeks.

is at any rate of great antiquity; it was known to the Greeks by this appellation[5], and some of the towns even, are marked by their writers in a clear and distinct manner[6].

Whether the whole of India was subject to the sovereign of Palibothra or Canouge; or, as is more probable, was divided into separate kingdoms; is very immaterial. The gigantic efforts of labour and ingenuity, which still exist in the southern parts of India, attest the magnitude of its population, and the civilization of its inhabitants. Nor do these stupendous remains of antiquity favour the hypothesis of one or two persons, who deny the antiquity of the Braminical faith. Indeed, it requires some degree of obstinacy to resist the strong evidence of Arrian and other Greek writers, who describe the manners, the ordinances, and the dress of the Indians, as exactly and correctly as they could be delineated at the present moment[7]. Such a conformity in religion and manners would favour the opinion of an universal monarchy, if it were not disproved by past and present experience.

[5] Near this city (Barygaza) the continent stretched down southerly, wherefore it was called Dakinabades, for Dakan in the language of the country signifies South.

[6] See Lieutenant Wilford's Essays (Asiatic Researches, Vol. III.) on Barygaza, the present Broach, and Tagara, now Doulutabad—the most interesting and most authentic of his numerous productions.

[7] For the conformity of the ancient with the present race of Indians, consult Robertson's Dissertation and Mr. Maurice's Indian Antiquities.

Extent of the Decan.

The Decan, which we have stated to be all the country south of the Nerbuda and Mahanudee or Cutak rivers, has often changed its boundaries; and is now considered as extending only from the Nerbuda to the Toombudra rivers. In its more extended definition it comprises six soobahs or provinces; Candesh, Berar, Maharasht, Telingana, Balaghat, and Beejapoor; with a sea-coast extending from the Cutak river, to Cape Comorin, and thence on its western side to Baroach. Its principal rivers are the Nerbuda and Taptee, which fall into the sea at Baroach and Surat; and the Godavery, Kishna, and Caveri, which disembogue on the opposite coast of Coromandel. A vast chain of mountains skirt the sea-coast at a distance from forty to a hundred miles, until it approaches Bangalore, when taking a more westerly direction, it joins the lofty range of hills which run from Cape Comorin to Ajmere, and thence skirt the great sandy desert. Two other chains of hills intersect the continent extending from West to East, forming the sources of the Godavery and Tapti rivers.

Soil, climate, and productions.

The soil, climate, and productions of such an empire, must depend upon a variety of circumstances. The country below the hills grows chiefly rice; while dry grains and cotton are produced on the upper provinces. Its manufactures consist principally in cloths, but not of that soft texture which so distinguishes the productions of Bengal.

Its languages are Malabar and Cunareese below the mountains, and Telinga and Mahratta above. Its religion was that of Brahma, while all its languages were derived from the Sanscrit.

Exceptions; Jyns.

A number of exceptions must of course exist to so general a description. Among those which deserve notice are the Jyns, and their stupendous monuments of idolatry: a people who are doubtless the aborigines of India, and who cherish their unavailing rancour against the Bramins with undiminished zeal[8]. But as it is not intended to compose a work upon the various sects who inhabit this vast empire, their history and religion, both highly deserving of attention, are passed over in silence.

History of the Decan.

A short abstract, however, of the history of the Decan, cannot fail of being useful, as otherwise it would be extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible, to comprehend the history of the Mahrattas, which is so intimately blended and connected with the Mooslim dynasties in the Decan. Nor is it altogether uninteresting to contemplate the rise and fall of flourishing kingdoms, or to trace a similar course of events, leading to the same sure and fatal termination.

[8] The Jyns commence their address to the Creator by praying him to shower down curses on the Bramins. See an account of the Colossal Statue in Fryer's Travels, and the more interesting account of their history and religion in the ninth volume of Asiatic Researches.

Divided into several states.

The Decan, in the earliest age of history, was divided under several independent Hindoo governments. Kool Chund formed that of Koolburga; Raja Meer Chund, that of Meritch; and Beeja Chund, the more celebrated and more permanent government of Beejanugur. Beckramajeet, famous in fable and romance, and whose reign forms a chronological æra[9], resided at Oojyn, and was slain by Sulabhun another independent chieftain.

Its riches excite the avarice of the Moguls.

The riches of the Rajah of Deoghur, or Doulutabad, had excited the avarice of Alla Ood Deen, who easily obtained permission from Sultan Ferose Shah to invade that kingdom. The Rajah was speedily subdued; but he was revenged on his Mooslim conquerors, for his riches seduced the Mooslim troops; and the Sooltan was deposed, and succeeded by the fortunate and crafty Alla Ood Deen. The new Sooltan did not abandon his views upon the Decan. In 1309, his army met with a severe repulse before Warangole, the capital of Telingana; but being soon reinforced, the unfortunate Ludder Deo was obliged to purchase a peace by the payment of vast sums of money, and by consenting to become tributary to the throne of Delhi. Rutunpoor, and Chitore, two strong-holds in Ajmere, were likewise reduced; and a mosque was even erected on the holy ground of Rameswur.

[9] Fifty-six years before the birth of Christ.

The Moguls, who had tasted the sweets of plunder, and whose avarice was by no means satiated by the riches they had already acquired, made annual incursions into the Decan. Their insatiable cupidity was concealed, though by no means mitigated, by their fanatical zeal for conversion; and while they enriched themselves, they thought they became acceptable to Heaven, by destroying the images and temples which seemingly denied the unity of the Godhead. Of their ravages and plunder we have a tedious and disgusting detail; but of the success of their religious zeal we have not the slightest account. Brutal force was however their principal, if not sole argument; and death or conversion was the only choice left to the miserable and trembling captive. Few circumstances can more strongly mark the difference between the religion of man, and the religion of God, than a comparison between the intemperate and inhuman efforts of the Mooslim, with the steady and earnest labours of the Christian. There is not in the black catalogue of human enormities, one which, under the mask of religion, they did not frequently commit. Towns and cities, nay, whole provinces, were extirpated, because the unoffending inhabitants had not heard the name of Mahomet, or hearing, had not instantly believed. All their bad passions were called into action; and under the character of reformers they outraged human nature. We know not the extent of their success, yet it seems prepos-

Efforts of the Moguls to convert the Hindoos.

terous to deny it. Fear must have operated upon a great many; interest upon others; while the offspring of their Hindoo slaves, were of course educated in the religion of Mahomet. Although the zeal of the Mooslim was seldom restrained within any bounds, the treatment of their slaves and converts is not unworthy of our imitation. But their attractions, as well as their religion, were of this world. Every inducement of wealth, honour, and promotion, were offered to the Hindoo convert; he was received into the bosom of society, and was elevated above the heads of his former associates. It would be idle to deny the strength of these incentives upon the minds of a people, not strongly confirmed in the tenets of an absurd superstition.

Widely different is the situation of the Christian missionary. He cannot hold out the lure of worldly honours and worldly advantages; his own condition sufficiently declares that he has no temporal riches to dispense; while his precepts and exhortations tend to diminish that self-love which is inseparable from our fallen nature. He not only makes them to be despised of others, but also to despise themselves; to be objects for the slow pointing finger of scorn; to be either considered madmen or impostors. Yet, if great their trials, still greater their privileges. He who seriously believes, cannot be greatly affected by the derision or contempt of the world; his hopes are not fixed on

earthly things; the trial is but for a season, the reward eternal. That the progress of conversion has been slow, no one will deny; yet sufficiently great to encourage hope, and to stimulate exertion. Great prejudices may, and possibly do, exist in the minds of the natives of India against the propagation of the Gospel; but that these prejudices are invincible is manifestly wrong, when the Seeks are a numerous body composed both of Mooslim and Hindoo converts, and when the Gosaeens admit no Bramin into their society, who does not abjure his supremacy. But have not prejudices existed in most countries? and had they, *in all ages, been equally respected*, in what a lost condition should we have remained! The least we can do is to attempt, with all prudence, to extend those blessings which we have received; trusting in Providence to sanctify our feeble efforts, and waiting for the expected time when the glad tidings of the Gospel shall be preached without opposition to all nations, and when "his knowledge shall "cover the earth as the waters cover the sea." I shall be accused of having unnecessarily introduced a subject which bore little relation to the history of the Decan; and I willingly plead guilty to the charge. Yet, considering how the subject has been introduced, and how attacked, any attempt to vindicate so good a cause may be tolerated even by those who hold contrary sentiments. Besides, seeing the opprobrium which rests upon those who esteem it a duty

to diffuse the light of Scripture among distant nations, I conceive it right, not merely to wish them success, and be ashamed to acknowledge it, but boldly to avow the obligation, and, as far as my means may extend, aware of what may be said, to promote the cause.

We now resume the thread of our history. Hirpal Singh attempted to resist the Mooslim invasion, but was defeated, taken prisoner, and flayed alive, for resisting the destroyers of his country (A. D. 1316.). The fortresses of Bidur and Warangole were successively taken, and with their fall, sunk the two principal Hindoo dynasties. The Mooslims had now pushed their conquests so far into the Decan, as to entertain serious intentions of subjecting the whole to their dominion. But as it was required that the wretched inhabitants should be overawed by a formidable army, and vigorous
1324. government, Tughluk Shah determined on removing the seat of government to Doulutabad; the residence of former Rajahs, and still remarkable for its wonderful excavations[10].

Conspiracy of the Moguls.

The authority of the Mooslims was frequently resisted; and at length they were entirely driven out of the Decan.
1344. Moohummed Tughluk Shah did not abandon the design of subduing the whole of the Decan; his views however were

[10] See an exact account of these wonderful excavations in the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches; I have been informed however, by several persons, that the drawings are extremely defective.

entirely defeated by the treachery of his nobles, who conspired against him; and, choosing a sovereign by lot, founded an empire, which rivalled in splendour and possessions its parent state.

Elect a king.

Ismael was the envied chieftain whom destiny selected to found a new kingdom; he was unequal to the task, and was obliged to correct the blindness of fortune by resigning his kingdom to Hoosun, a young noble who had just defeated the royal armies. Koolburga was chosen to be the capital of this new empire, to which, in the course of a few years, he, by the wisdom of his policy and the vigour of his arms, added all the conquests which had been achieved in the Decan by the government of Delhi. Hoosun was of obscure birth, and had passed his early years in the service of a Bramin, called Kangoh. The Bramin, observing something uncommon in his character, excited his ambition by prognostics of future greatness. Hoosun did not neglect his former patron; he was placed at the head of the treasury, and his name joined with the Sooltan's to all the royal edicts. Hence this dynasty obtained the name of Bahmunee. Whether the new Sooltan did this to gratify the expectation of an indulgent master, or to conciliate his Hindoo subjects, is not known: Kangoh was the first Bramin who held an appointment under a Mooslim government; but their talents and abilities in finance ever after ensured them the preference over the Mooslim competitors.

Death of Hoosun and accession of Moohummed. 1357.

Hoosun, by the title of Alla Ood Deen, enjoyed a peaceable reign of eleven years, and was succeeded by his son Moohummed. He was engaged in a long and troublesome war with the Roy of Telingana, which ended in his entire subjection. The boundary of the Mooslim kingdom was extended to Golconda, and the Roy became a vassal of that increasing power. The king, relieved from danger and difficulty, resigned himself to an uninterrupted course of pleasure; and at one of his midnight revels, recompensed the singers and dancers by an order on the treasury of Beejanugur. The Roy resented the indignity with a becoming, if an impolitic spirit. The messenger was seated on an ass, paraded through the streets, and dismissed with the utmost contempt to his dissolute master. Not content with this public expression of his indignation, the Roy assembled his army, carried the fortress of Moodgul by storm, and put all
1365. the garrison to death. Moohummed was overwhelmed with rage and vexation, and, in the phrensy of his wrath, made a solemn vow never to return until he had expiated their deaths in the blood of one hundred thousand Hindoos. He crossed the Kistna in the face of the enemy, who was so much intimidated as to send off his heavy baggage. Moohummed then attacked their camp, and, according to report, put seventy thousand persons to death. At the conclusion of the rains he advanced with a battering-train against Adoni, and crossed the Toombudra. Finding that the enemy was advancing, he detached a large body against him

under Khan Moohummed, which would have been entirely defeated, but for the seasonable arrival of the king, with a body of three thousand horse. The Mooslims rallied, charged, and were victorious; when a scene of massacre and butchery ensued too horrid to relate.

Siege of Beejanugur.

Moohummed immediately laid siege to Beejanugur, the enemy's capital, but finding it too strong recrossed the Toombruda. The Hindoos pursued, and lulled into security by superior numbers, and a fabricated report of the king's death, abandoned themselves to feasting and revelry. They were aroused the next morning by the groans of the wounded and dying, and the shouts of the victors. Ten thousand of the enemy were slain, and immense riches were found in his camp. Kishen Roy, subdued by misfortune, sought for peace; and on his consenting to satisfy the singers and dancers, a treaty was immediately concluded, which, among other articles, stipulated that regular troops only were to be treated as enemies, a humane regulation which obtained for a considerable period. The king, rejoiced at his success, exclaimed in the fervency of his gratitude, "Praises be to God, what I ordered has been performed; I would not let a light word be recorded of me in the pages of time:" thus preferring the gratification of an intemperate act, to the lives of many thousands of his fellow-creatures.

Rebellion: his death.

The Sooltan did not enjoy a long repose. It was broken

upon by rebellions in Boglana, and Mheerrut, which he soon suppressed. On his return to Coolburga he issued orders for the extermination of numerous hordes of banditti, which infested the Decan; and we may form some estimate of their numbers, on finding that, in the course of a few months, a pyramid of heads, to the amount of eight thousand, was erected at Coolburga, as a monument of the royal justice. He died in 1374: and, after the gratification of every sensual passion, the slaughter of five hundred thousand persons, and the ruin and depopulation of the Carnatic, acknowledged from the grave, "All is vanity."

Mujahid Shah.

Moohummed was succeeded by his son Mujahid Shah, who was engaged in a severe warfare against the Hindoos, and which, as usual, terminated in favour of the Mooslims. He was assassinated by his uncle Daood Khan in 1377, who was murdered after a short but guilty reign of one month. His successor Mahmood was a prince of a mild and gentle disposition, and who contrived to pass a long reign without a foreign war. Indeed, it required little more than the disposition to do so; for the Mooslims, impelled by a spirit of ambition and wild fanaticism, have, till of late years, been always the aggressors. Mahmood passed his days in the seducing and refined pleasures of literature: he was a scholar, a good poet, and a liberal patron of learned men. The celebrated Hafiz, the Anacreon of Persia, had actually embarked for his court; when, alarmed at the sea, he relanded

and excused himself in the following Ode to his friend Fyz Oollah Unjoo.

" The breeze of my garden is not to be purchased by the possession of the world.

" My companions rebuked me, and said, Quit this spot: what whim has possessed thee, that thy cell is not valued?

" Yonder royal crown, on which is set danger of life, is an alluring object, but not worth the risk of death.

" From my desire of pearls, the danger of the sea appeared of little compute: but I was deceived; one wave is not to be appeased by treasures of gold.

" Is my heart dispirited in the assembly of friendship? The gildings of art are not worth a cup of generous wine.

" If Hafiz retires from the world content with a little, hundreds of pieces of gold are not worth a moment's vexation."

Such, according to the historian Ferishta, was the ode which Hafiz sent to his friend Unjoo; his biographers transcribe another ode, as superior in spirit, as it is in poetry[11].

[11] " Wine and pleasure were wanting: what folly is this! I brought them to the table of the wanton. Of the consequence I care not.

" Burst

Mujahid Shah died in the year 1396, after a reign of twenty years, and was succeeded by his son, who was soon

" Burst your fetters, and do not think of heaven; for the science of the astronomer will not solve the problem.

" Do not be astonished at the reverses of Fortune; she is acquainted with a thousand such changes.

" Receive the bowl with respect; it is composed of the dust of Jumshyd, of Buhmun, and Cobad.

" Who knows where Kaoos the Kyanian is gone? who knows what is become of the goblet of Jum?

" But I see, in emulation of the lips of Sheereen, that the tulips bloom fresh upon the grave of Furhad:

" The tulip is acquainted with the faithlessness of the world; for, from the time it blows till it dies, it holds the cup in its hand.

" Come, come, let us drink wine; perhaps we may arrive thus at the end of our desires.

" The morning-breeze of Mooseelay, and the waters of Rooknabad, will not permit me to travel.

" Whatever Hafiz has suffered is past: free, I pray, other lovers from such dreadful calamities."

The object of this beautiful ode, unhappily obscured by one or two puerile thoughts, is to show as delicately as possible, that princes receive immortality at the hands of poets.

Neque,
Si chartæ sileant quod bene feceris,
Mercedem tuleris. Quid foret Iliæ
Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas
Obstaret meritis invida Romuli?
Ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Æacum
Virtus, et favor, et lingua potentium
Vatum, divitibus consecrat insulis.
Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori:
Cœlo Musa beat.

The Persian kings are forgotten, while Furhad, apparently obscure, lives immortalized in poesy.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illachrymabiles

after blinded, and deposed by a Turkish slave. His brother, after a short reign of five months, was also dethroned by his uncle Feroze Shah. 1397.

Feroze Shah was remarkable for his affability, generosity, and learning. He lived with his nobles rather as a companion than sovereign, strictly forbidding their introducing two subjects; affairs of state, and remarks upon an absent person. His haram was filled with Arabians, Circassians, Georgians, Russians, Afgans, Bengalees, Guzratees, Telenganees, and Mharatins, with all of whom, it is said, he could converse in their own language. He also read the Bible; but perhaps it may provoke a smile to hear, that his preference to the Koran arose from the prohibition of wine and the seclusion of women. Nor can it be admitted that he derived much benefit from his reading, on finding him consenting to the assassination of his enemy the Roy of Beejanugur. Devul Roy was glad 1398. to purchase a peace at the price of four hundred thousand pounds, and the king's arms were then directed against the strong hilly country of Goandwara[13], which he entirely subjected.

Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

Hafiz thus gently insinuates, that had he accepted the invitation, he would have conferred, rather than have received, a favour, and was consequently always at liberty to decline it.

[13] See an account of this country and its inhabitants in the Asiatic Researches, vol. 7.

Timoor had, at this period, prepared for his Indian expe-
1401. dition; and Feroze sent an ambassador to conciliate the Tartar conqueror. His embassy and presents were received with attention and kindness, and the rude barbarian requited him with the sovereignty of the Decan, Malwa, and Goozerat.

Irruption of Dewul Roy.

Dewul Roy, forgetful of past misfortunes, had rashly invaded the Mooslim territory. Enamoured with the reported beauties of a virgin of Moodgul, the Roy besieged that fortress; but was, as usual, defeated, and obliged to purchase a peace by a fresh contribution of four hundred thousand pounds, a vast quantity of pearls, fifty elephants, and two thousand slaves. But the most disgraceful condition was, his being obliged to give his daughter in marriage to the king: a condition subversive of every tenet of his religion, and a
1406. proof of the most complete subjugation.

He again invaded Goandwara, which he laid waste, and returned with a large booty. In 1417 the king sustained a severe defeat from Dewul Roy, who had invaded his kingdom, and spread his devastations wherever he marched. The Sooltan at length drove him beyond the frontier; but misfortune had broken his spirit, and had brought on a lingering disorder. His last moments were imbittered by the rebellion of his brother. He died after a reign of twenty-

five years and some months, and was succeeded by his brother.

Accession of Ahmed Shah.

Ahmed Shah commenced his reign by attacking Dewul Roy, who had been joined by the Raja of Warangole. The Mooslims crossed the Toombudra, and surprised the enemy's camp. Dewul Roy, in the confusion which ensued, was made prisoner, but not being recognised made his escape. The Sooltan, who aspired to the character of a Mooslim saint, broke the humane compact concluded between the two states. Men, women, and children, were involved in one promiscuous slaughter; and whenever he imagined that twenty thousand Hindoos had been slain, he celebrated the horrid massacre by a festival of three days. Five thousand Hindoos, enraged at his cruelty, devoted themselves to rid the world of such a monster. They were on the point of succeeding in their wishes, having surprised and surrounded the king, when they were attacked by a fresh force, and beaten off the field. Dewul Roy was now besieged in his capital, but on his consenting to pay the arrears of tribute, a peace was once more established.

Death. 1421.

Ahmed Shah availed himself of this opportunity to attack the Raja of Warangole, who was slain, and his capital taken. On his return from an expedition into Malwa, he founded the city of Ahmedabad; which, however, still

retains the name of Bidur, being built on the site of that celebrated city. He then carried his arms into the Kokun; and even made a conquest of the island of Bombay: but in
1429. the end was obliged to relinquish his conquests.

Sultan Allaood Deen. Sultan Allaood Deen II. succeeded his father, who died in 1434. It being the usual ambition of a new sovereign to distinguish himself by conquest, the unfortunate Roy of Beejanugur was again attacked, and again obliged to purchase
1437. a peace by heavy contributions. A large force was also sent against the province of Candesh, under the command of Mulikoot Toojar, who destroyed Boorhanpoor, the capital of that province, and defeated Nuseer Khan in several engagements.

The Raja Dewul Roy, mortified at his constant losses and anxious to discover the cause, convened a general assembly of his nobles. He inquired of them the occasion of such constant discomfiture. Some attributed it to a decree of the Almighty; who, according to the Shasters, had given superiority to the Mooslims for thirty thousand years. Others, more rationally, attributed it to superior cavalry, and to large bodies of archers. The Raja on this new-modelled his army; and thinking himself sufficiently strong, crossed the Toombudra, and surprised Moodgul. Upon this success he detached his sons against Rachore and Bincapoor, encamping

himself with the body of his force, on the banks of the Kistna. Allaood Deen marched against him with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men. At first he was unsuccessful, but at length he succeeded in defeating the Hindoos, and compelled the Raja to sue for peace. A treaty was soon concluded, and Allaood Deen, upon his return, became as remarkable for his voluptuousness and inattention to business as he had before been moderate and indefatigable. He built a palace called the Abode of Bliss, where he spent his time in the society of one thousand beautiful women.

Mulikoot Toojar had spread the terror of the king's arms over the whole of the Kokun; and for the preservation of his conquests, had raised the fortress of Juner. Being persuaded by a petty Raja, whom he had subdued, to attack Soonda, he rashly entered the woody and mountainous country in 1453. that neighbourhood, and was cut off with the whole of his party. The king died in the year 1457 of a mortification in his foot, after a reign of twenty-five years. He was succeeded by his son Homaioon.

The natural cruelty of Homaioon's temper was aggravated Homaioon's excessive cruelty. by a rebellion which broke out upon his accession to the throne. He was recalled to his capital by another conspiracy, headed by his brother, and Yusuf Turk, who were, however, soon subdued. Relieved from his fears, his dispo-

sition assumed its natural bent. Stakes were set up in the market-place; furious elephants and beasts of prey were stationed at different parts of the square; and at others, caldrons of scalding oil and boiling water. The tyrant, seated in a balcony, glutted his sight with the spectacle of his brother being thrown before a furious tiger, who tore him to pieces. Yusuf Khan, with seven of his friends, was treated with more lenity. They were beheaded before him,
1459. but their innocent families were violated and tortured in the courts of his palace. Not content with the common methods, he invented new modes of torture; neither the young nor the old, women nor children, escaped his relentless fury. Seven thousand persons are computed to have suffered by every kind of torture his ingenuity could invent. His cruelty and lust knew no bounds. Betrothed virgins were torn from the arms of their impatient husbands, and sent back deflowered to their houses. But, to use the words of the Persian historian, "the Almighty took pity on the sufferings of his people, and listened to the complaints of the wretched." He died in 1460; or, according to others, was killed in a fit of intoxication by one of his own servants: a death more suitable to the enormity of his conduct. He reigned three years and a half, and was succeeded by his son Nizam Shah, a child of eight years of age.

Nizam Shah, a minor. The neighbouring powers seized the opportunity of attack-

ing a kingdom in the hands of a minor, and governed by a woman. The Roy of Orissa advanced within ten miles of Ahmedabad, but was attacked and forced to retreat. Khaju Juhan hung upon his rear, and he was glad to purchase a peace by the payment of a large sum of money. This affair was scarcely terminated, before he was invaded by Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa. The young king put himself at the head of his army, and a general action soon ensued. Both wings of the enemy were broken, but Sultan Mahmood still maintained his ground. Khaju Juhan then charged; unfortunately his elephant became ungovernable, and the Decanies, missing the royal standard, fled, and abandoned a victory they had gained to the Sooltan of Malwa. Mahmood immediately sat down before the capital, which must have fallen had not his own territories been invaded by an army from Goozerat. He raised the siege, and suffered incredible hardships on his march. In Goundwara he lost twelve thousand men from fatigue and thirst.

Hypocrisy of Mahmood.

Sooltan Mahmood, upon his first entrance into the Decan, had treated the inhabitants with the greatest cruelty; but the instant he entertained hopes of achieving a conquest, his conduct became as remarkable for moderation and justice as it had been before distinguished for rapine and outrage. Among other things, he carried wooden frames filled with earth, on which he grew his vegetables, that he might not de-

prive the inhabitants of the smallest part of their property. At the siege of Ahmedabad, he applied to Shumsood Deen to know where he might purchase vegetables, agreeably to the law, at a high price. The holy man had the resolution and good sense to tell him, that the person who destroyed the houses and possessions of others, and attended to the minutest observances of the law, was not only a fool but a hypocrite.

Death of Nizam Shah. 1462. Nizam Shah died as he was on the eve of celebrating his marriage, and was succeeded by Moohummed Shah, a child of nine years of age. Nothing material occurred in the young king's reign until 1467, when an army was sent against Kurleh, a fortress belonging to the Sooltan of Malwa, and which was not taken without much trouble. The arms of the Bhamenee sovereigns were still employed in the Kokun; they gradually subdued Khakeh and Soongeer, and at length a capture was made of Goa. The Roy of Beejanugur did 1472. not resign so valuable a possession without a struggle. Pergana, governor of Balgaon, attacked it; his own fort was immediately besieged, and, after a desperate resistance, taken.

Famine. A famine having raged in the Decan two years, the Roy of Oureeah seized this occasion to assert his independence; and having united himself with the Roy of Orissa, prepared

to resist the royal arms. Mohummed Shah, incensed at his treachery, headed his army, and carried slaughter and devastation up to the gates of his capital. The Roy soon concluded an ignominious treaty. He next besieged Chandapal, and, on entering the fort, slew some innocent devotees, which obtained him the name of Ghazee, or Saint Militant. He then determined on attacking Nersinga, and accordingly advanced within a short distance of Conjeveram. Upon hearing of the vast riches of the temple, he attacked it, and soon became master of the wealth which credulity and superstition had offered at this famous shrine.

New division of the empire.

The empire had now so much increased as to render a new division of its provinces absolutely necessary. Berar formed two governments: 1. Gawil, and, 2. Mahore: 3. Doulutabad: 4. Juner, with the districts of Alore, Baeen, Ban, Goa, and Balgaon: 5. Beejapoor, as far as the Beemah: 6. Uhsunabad, Koolburga to Nulduruk and Sholapoor; the country of Telingana into two: 7. Rajamundree Masulipatam, Nilcondah, and Oureeah: and 8th. the government of Warangole. The most extraordinary man of this reign was Khaju Juhan: he was an able general, an excellent minister, and a good poet. He at last fell a sacrifice to the king's suspicions. The Sooltan soon discovered the vindictive treachery of his courtiers; which, producing a dejection of spirits, hastened his death. He died after a reign of

twenty years, and was succeeded by his son Sooltan Mahmood II.

Massacre of the Turks. 1482.

The commencement of this reign was remarkable for the massacre of the Turks in the royal service. Many of them had risen to high offices; and, as they were foreigners, greater trust was reposed in them than on the nobles of the Decan. As they rose solely by their merits, we must suppose them to have been more capable than the nobles of the country; who, born to rank and large possessions, usually abandoned themselves to sloth and voluptuousness. Nor is it too refined to suppose that the inhabitants of a colder climate, and rigid Mooslims, would manifest superior courage and zeal against Hindoos than the natives of the Decan, who were familiar with their religious rites and habits, and acquainted with their language. An implacable enmity had always existed between the Decan nobles and the different foreigners who had flocked from all quarters to the Bahmenee court. Nizam Ool Moolk succeeded in instilling a distrust of their services. They were accordingly attacked in the city where they were quartered, and a continued state of warfare was kept up for twenty days. The Turks in the distant provinces, for their own security, seized upon the places they were sent to garrison, and, among others, upon Dabal Kolapore, Pannala, and Balgaon. Nizam Ool Moolk's influence immediately declined; he fled to Ahmedabad, and met with the

treatment he might have expected from a wretch he had raised from obscurity. He was admitted into the fort, and murdered.

Conspiracy of the Decanee nobles. 1490.

The Decanee nobles did not abandon themselves to despair. They entered into a conspiracy against the king, who was indebted for his safety to his foreign troops. The Decan and Abyssinian noblemen were abandoned to the fury of the incensed Turks. The king now, free from apprehension, gave himself up to an uninterrupted course of the grossest sensuality. Musicians, singers, and players flocked from all quarters; and the common people, imitating the manners of their sovereign, indulged in unbounded licentiousness. The prevalence of example seduced the old and the grave; "hoary sages pawned their clothes at the wine-cellars, and "priests presided at the jovial banquet." The king, immersed in the lowest pleasures, was careless of the welfare of his subjects, and equally indifferent to the preservation of his legitimate authority. The governors of the distant provinces no longer respected the royal commands; some treated him with slight, while others entirely disclaimed his authority. Ahmed Bihree founded the city of Ahmednugur, and excited the governors of Beejapoor and Berar to imitate his example. The king, at this period, was a prisoner in the hands of his minister; he had still, however, sufficient influence to raise a large army, at the head of which he advanced against some

of his rebel subjects upon the sea-coast, whom he entirely subdued. This was his last effort. On his return he relapsed into his usual luxurious habits, and again fell under the control of his minister. He soon became the mere pageant of his ambitious subjects, who sanctioned their acts by the authority of degraded majesty. Yusuf Adil Shah, however, did not feel it necessary to disguise his rebellion
1504. by so flimsy a veil. He was publicly proclaimed at his capital, Beejapoor, and was succeeded by his son Ismael
1510. Adil Shah.

Defeated, and taken prisoner.
1514. The king, or rather his minister, attacked and stormed Coolburga; but advancing to Beejapoor was defeated and taken prisoner. The unfortunate Sooltan was now carried to his capital by his rebel subject; but, on the approach of the minister with a superior force, was abandoned by his interested ally, and was forced to implore the protection of Umdutood Deen, another of his rebel viceroys. Umdutood Deen espoused his cause, and escorted him with a large army to his capital. The minister prepared to resist, and advanced against him. The messenger who brought the accounts found the king bathing, and insolently, although justly, remarked, it was no wonder that a prince who could thus employ his time at such a critical moment, should be the sport of his nobles. The Sooltan, stung with the reproof, instead of manifesting its injustice, deserted over to the

enemy, and voluntarily resigned himself into the hands of his implacable minister. His confinement now became more strict, and he soon after finished a long and inglorious reign of thirty-seven years. 1518.

Extinction of the Bahmenee dynasty. 1520.

Ahmed Shah succeeded to a nominal throne, and died after a reign of two years. Allaood Deen III. was the minister's next pageant; but endeavouring to rid himself of a violent tyrant, was deposed, and succeeded by Sooltan Mulee. Sooltan Mulee unfortunately possessed a beautiful wife; the minister loved her; the Sooltan was dethroned, and his wife torn from his embraces. With Sooltan Mulee terminated the dynasty of Bahmenee kings. It may be more properly dated from the death of Sooltan Mahmood, when this once vast and flourishing kingdom was parcelled out into five monarchies: Adil Shahee, or that of Beejapoor: 2. Kootub Shahee or Golcondah: 3. Nizam Shahee, or Ahmednugur: and the two more confined ones of Berar and Bidur, under Ummadool Moolk and Ameer Bureed. It will be the design of the following chapter to give a succinct account of the rise and fall of these governments. 1526. 1518.

CHAPTER II.

Excuse for the apparent apathy of Eastern history.

REVOLUTIONS are of such frequent occurrence in the East, and the mind is so accustomed to contemplate the sudden fall of the most ancient families to misery and ruin, and the equally rapid rise of the abject and indigent to offices of the greatest dignity and power, that it at length becomes familiar with scenes which excite, in the natives of more settled governments, the strongest emotions of pity and disgust. This may, in some measure, account for the apathy of Eastern authors, who forego the noblest privilege of an historian, that of passing judgement upon the actions of former ages. Nor might it be always safe to indulge in remark. The authors live under a despotic government; nor can they be supposed to feel for distant ages what they, at least, must affect to behold with indifference and composure. It may be observed, however, that two causes chiefly affect the stability of Eastern monarchies. 1. The want of education which the prince usually labors under, and which, of course, exposes him to the worst impressions, and to the vilest artifices. Nursed in the lap of sensuality, and unable to judge for himself, women and eunuchs govern his mind, and direct his acts. Timid, yet rash, he often excites the

rebellion of his subjects, without possessing the courage to subdue it. 2. The extreme jealousy which is entertained against a distinguished character. To divide and govern, is an Eastern as well as an European maxim. One chief is opposed to another; parties are formed and encouraged, and as either preponderate, the pliant monarch throws the weight of influence into the opposite scale. Many are disgusted, none are conciliated; and the prince is either beheld with aversion or indifference by the principal nobles of his court. Under the first monarch the country enjoys peace and security; for the usurper is anxious to conciliate all descriptions of persons. His family once established, the tyrant considers his subjects as cattle descended to him by an indefeasible right. His whole conduct discovers the impression. His subjects rebel, and choose other chieftains. Immersed in the vilest sensuality, he allows the torrent to gain force, and when he attempts to stop it, finds it beyond control. He then becomes the pageant of an artful minister, or an able general; and should he endeavour to throw off the yoke, the bowl or the bow-string ends his misfortunes. This picture is not overcharged. Whether we cast our eyes on Tartary or Turkey, Persia or India, we shall find their monarchies to have run the same course; they may have arisen fortuitously and in various ways, but their decline has proceeded from the same sure and rapid causes.

Rise of the Adil Shahee kings.

If the rise of most Eastern monarchies did not present similar stories, the following account might command our belief. Yusuf Adil Shah was the son of Sooltan Morad. Upon his death his eldest brother Moohummed succeeded to the throne, and was recommended by his ministers to destroy all the males, except one, of the royal family; which, they alleged, would be an effectual check to future rebellions. This was done; but a Circassian slave was substituted instead of Yusuf Adil Shah [13]. He was educated by Sheekh Soofee, founder of the Sufweeian dynasty of Persia [14], and made considerable progress in all the polite arts. At the age of sixteen he embarked for India, and on his arrival
1458. repaired to the court of Moohummed Shah. His rise was not very rapid, for it was not until after a service of thirty years that he sanctified his rebellion by the authority of the Koran, "The sword is his who can use it, and dominion for "him who conquers." He did not, however, enjoy a long repose. Heemraje took Moodgul and Rachore; and Jumcoondah fell to Moohummud Geelani. A general engage-

[13] One of the infant brothers of Sooltan Moohummed, the conqueror of Constantinople, did escape: he resided at Rome, and afterwards at Vienna, where he was seen by Cuspinian. His escape, and the ignorance of the Mooslims, rendered the flattery less liable to detection.

[14] For the rise of this dynasty see Tavernier, and all the travellers of the seventeenth century. Possibly the rise of that dynasty may resemble this I am now recording.

ment soon after ensued between the Mooslims and Hindoos; the latter were entirely defeated, and the young Roy lost his life. Heemraje seized the vacant government, and was happy to conclude a peace.

Finding himself sufficiently strong, he entered into a partition treaty with Ummad Ool Moolk, and Mulik Umber; the former was to subdue Khodawund Khan the Abyssinian, the other Doulutabad, Antore, Galneh, up to Goozerat. He reserved for himself the possessions of Dustoor Deenar the Abyssinian, and of Ain Ool Moolk. It was also agreed that Casim Bureed should have the country of Kootub Ool Moolk, with the capital Bidur, and some of the adjacent country. Adil Shah lost no time in carrying his plans into effect. Ain Ool Moolk was content to become his vassal, but the Abyssinian lost his life in the defence of his independence. Adil Shah now gave way to his religious prejudices. The Sheea tenets were publicly proclaimed; but his bigotry did not excite him to persecute his subjects of the hostile sect; a free toleration was allowed, and although a general combination was formed against him, he extricated himself from his difficulties with honour and credit. Partition treaty. 1498. 1502.

The Portuguese, under the heroic conduct of Vasca de Gama, had established themselves on the coast of Malabar and Canara. Goa, which became the capital of their con- Portuguese take Goa.

quests, was taken; but they were obliged to relinquish it
1509. to the superior force of the Mooslims. Yusuf Adil Shah a short time after died of a dropsy, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

Accession of Ismael Adil Shah.

Ismael Adil Shah, a minor, succeeded his father. The administration of the kingdom was confided to Kumal Khan. The first acts of his government were the re-establishment of the Soonee tenets, and the conclusion of a peace with the Portuguese, who had re-captured Goa. Unable to resist the temptations of sovereign power, he entered into a conspiracy to dethrone the young king, which was happily defeated by the intrigues and ability of the queen-mother. Yusuf Khan was won over to her service. He was introduced to the minister, who was confined to his bed, by a female slave, placed as a spy over the queen-mother, and who had been deceived by a feigned anxiety for the minister's recovery. The minister, glad to be rid of a rival, and pleased at the Turk's humility, stretched out his hand to give him the betel of dismission, when Yusuf Khan rushed upon him and stabbed him to the heart. The palace was immediately attacked by the minister's partizans, but the gallantry of the king's mother and foster-aunt, who headed the guards in complete armour, repelled the assailants. The king immediately ascended the throne, and by great largesses to those who had assisted him, and by recalling the banished

nobles, soon found himself surrounded by a large body of Turks and Moguls. His next step was to recover the territory which had been wrested from him by Ameer Bureed. The Ameer did not resign his conquests without a struggle: he was defeated, and the wretched representative of the Bahmenee dynasty made prisoner. His rank and independence were now confirmed, and were even acknowledged by the king of Persia, who sent an ambassador to his court. 1514. 1519.

War with the Hindoos.

The following year Ismael attempted to recover Rachore from the Roy of Beejanugur. Heated with wine, he crossed the Kistna in the face of the enemy, with two thousand men, but was driven back, and effected his escape with only seven persons; the rest being either killed, or carried down the stream by the rapidity of the current. Ismael returned to his capital covered with shame and confusion; and soon after concluded an alliance with the Sooltan of Ahmednugur, which was cemented by a marriage between his sister and that monarch. Failing, however, to perform the stipulations of the treaty, he was attacked by that prince, in conjunction with the Sooltan of Berar and Ameer Bureed. Ismael opposed them with ten thousand foreign troops, and three thousand archers. These archers, being surprised by a body of the enemy, were defeated and dispersed; but, rallying at a distance, they approached the enemy's camp, and were allowed to pass. They seized the advantage, attacked the

enemy, and, after a dreadful slaughter, effected their retreat. Ismael advanced the next morning against the enemy, who was not recovered from his panic, and whose line was formed in the utmost disorder and confusion. The allies made but little resistance; their camp was taken, and vast riches fell into the hands of the victors. Not satisfied with the former disasters, Nizam Shah and Ameer Bureed again attacked
1528. the Sooltan, and were again defeated.

Siege of Bidur. Surrenders. 1529.

He next laid siege to Bidur, and slew in single combat the minister's two brothers. Ameer Bureed, subdued by misfortune, fled into Berar; but, disappointed in his hopes of making peace, returned to his troops, and dissolved all his cares in an uninterrupted course of debauchery. Asud Khan resolved to surprise him: he found the out-posts asleep, and advanced without notice to the minister's tent. The minister and his female singers and dancers were all senseless on the ground, the victims of the most disgusting drunkenness. Ameer Bureed was bound to his bed, and conveyed out of the camp; nor did he awake until he was in the midst of his enemies. His terror and amazement can scarcely be imagined; he conceived himself to be in the hands of Genii or Demons, and called upon God to relieve him from the enchantment. He was relieved from his imaginary fears to the substantial misery of his actual situation; and he was glad to purchase his release by the surrender of

Bidur, the once flourishing capital of the Bahmenee sovereigns. Ismael entered the conquered city in great state; and distributed the whole of his plunder among his troops, and the neighbouring princes. Forty thousand pounds was given in charity, and ten thousand pounds to the poet Molana Shied.

Ismael, successful in one quarter, had leisure to subdue Rachore, but was called off from prosecuting his conquests by an attack on his own dominions. He defeated the allies Ameer Bureed, and Boorhan Shah, and obliged them to consent to his attacking Kootub Shah, the Sooltan of Golconda. He did not live long enough to benefit by this convention, dying shortly, after a reign of twenty-five years. Ismael Adil Shah was a prince of talents: liberal and forgiving in his manners, and strongly attached to the habits and customs of the Turks and Persians. He left two sons; although they were in an enemy's country, the two brothers could not disguise their jealousy of each other, nor the nobles refrain from espousing their cause. The camp was divided into opposite parties; and as the principal chiefs were afraid to detach their troops on foraging-parties, a famine soon ensued. It was relieved by the exertions of Asud Khan; but he was soon disgusted with the depravity of the young Sultan, and abandoned him to his abominable vices. The young king was deposed, and succeeded by his brother.

Death. 1531.

1354.

Imprudence of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, unfortunately for himself, aspired to the character of a reformer; and thought he became so by abolishing his father's wise regulations. The foreign troops were dismissed; an alteration was made in every branch of the revenue; and, to complete the measure of his folly, numerous snares were spread for the destruction of Asud Khan, the most able man in his kingdom, and his only friend. Asud Khan did not resent this conduct: he relieved *him* from all his difficulties, and once more established himself
1542. in the royal favour. Misfortune, however, had not corrected his disposition; and his long reign was a constant series of
1551. disasters. Rachore and Moodgul were taken by Ram Raje, and Sholapoor by Nizam Shah. Various excesses at length destroyed a good constitution: he died unlamented, and
1557. was succeeded by his son Ali Adil Shah.

Accession of Ali Adil Shah.

The first acts of the new reign betrayed little wisdom. The supremacy of Ali was publicly declared, and forty persons were constantly employed in denouncing curses against the first three Califs; while, to mark the inconsistency of his disposition, an offensive league was concluded with Ram Raje against Nizam Shah. The two armies penetrated into his country, and spread ruin and devastation wherever they marched. The Hindoo, conscious of superior power, treated him with the most mortifying haughtiness; the mosques were polluted, and his subjects insulted. The Sultan dis-

sembled his feelings, and having concluded a peace, immediately endeavoured to form a confederacy against his former ally. He succeeded beyond his expectation. A just sense of danger and zeal for the Mooslim religion, concurred to unite the Mooslim princes in a general confederacy against the common enemy.

Attacks Ram Raje.

Ram Raje had penetrated their intentions, and upon their approach to the Kistna, they found the Hindoo army encamped on the opposite bank. The enemy were at length deceived; the allies crossed the Kistna, and encamped within ten miles of the Hindoo camp. A decisive battle soon ensued, which was fought with a degree of bravery and obstinacy worthy of the importance of the contest. Both parties fought for supremacy; both resisted religious subjection. At length a furious elephant broke the Hindoo line; Ram Raje was made prisoner, and his head being shown, the Hindoos fled, and were pursued with an incredible slaughter. One hundred thousand men are said to have been slain. The allies moved on toward Anagoondy, while their advanced parties destroyed Beejanugur.

Fall of Beejanugur

The kingdom of Beejanugur never recovered this severe defeat; it fell rapidly into decay, and for these last three centuries has been possessed by petty Rajas, or more petty Zemindars. The extensive ruins of the city still attest its

ancient magnificence, while its power and riches are corroborated by the earlier history of the Decan.

Ali Adil Shah was at first defeated in his views of securing Beejanugur and Anagoondy to himself; but upon his agree-
1567. ing to Moortuza Shah's attack upon Berar, his wishes were gratified. The Portuguese had been long in possession of Goa, which they had maintained with a spirit and resolution worthy of their established character. The Sultan attempted to expel them, and met with a severe defeat. His mortification, however, was alleviated by the reduction of Jeruh,
1575. Darwer, Binkapoor, and Chandercotah.

His death. Ali Adil Shah was succeeded by his nephew, Ibrahim, a
1580. child nine years old. The neighbouring powers did not fail to take advantage of the distractions which prevail on the accession of a minor. Their ravages extended to the walls
1584. of the capital; when a peace was concluded, and cemented
1586. by reciprocal marriages. Ibrahim, impatient of restraint,
1589. effected his escape, and joined some nobles attached to his cause. The regent, although eighty, had dedicated the night to the society of a beautiful virgin, and was ignorant of his misfortune. He made an unavailing effort to retrieve his influence, and was some time after seized, blinded, and
1593. confined in Sitarrah.

Rebellion of the king's brother.

The tranquillity which had been established by the conquest of Malabar and Mysore, was interrupted by the rebellion of the king's brother. He had been treated with the utmost kindness; but such is the perverse policy of the East as to render the confinement of the next heir to the throne a matter of indispensable necessity. Having seduced the garrison of Balgaon, he asserted his claims to the kingdom, and even concluded an alliance with the Sultan of Ahmednugur. But the abilities of Ibrahim soon changed the aspect of affairs. He detached Humeed Khan with instructions to offer his services to the rebel army; they were accepted, and when he was to be introduced he fell upon the enemy, routed him, and took the young prince prisoner.

Views of the Emperor Acbar.

But a more formidable enemy arose in the person of the famous Sooltan Acbar. Since the defection of the Mooslim chieftains, the Decan had been free from the hostile incursions of the emperors of Delhi. Foreign wars, less remote and more interesting conquests, or internal commotions, had demanded the care and occupied the attention of the successors of Tughluk Shah. Under the wise and vigorous administration of Acbar, the resources of his empire had been consolidated, and the feuds and grievances of his various subjects had been composed or redressed. His enlarged and philosophic mind, however, was tainted with the spirit

of conquest; and the Decan alone offered a field for his ambition, and a reward to his arms.

Termination of Ferishta's history.

Unfortunately the great historian of the Decan closes his noble work at this interesting epoch, nor is his loss compensated by the works of any other authentic author. Those which exist shine with so feeble and transient a light, as serve only to render our darkness the more painful.

Acbar's perseverance.

Acbar was not diverted from his intention of subduing the Decan by the repulse of his son before Ahmednugur. The Decanes were defeated in a general engagement near Boorhanpoor, and were obliged to purchase a peace by the payment of half a million of money, two hundred thousand of which was contributed by Ibrahim Adil Shah. He did not long outlive his misfortune; he reigned forty-seven

1626. years.

Accession of Moohummud Adil Shah.

The first years of the reign of Moohummud Adil Shah were passed in uninterrupted repose. The dissensions at the court of Delhi had delayed but not diverted the tide of conquest. The Decan was again inundated, and a precarious peace was purchased by the payment of four hundred thousand pounds, and forty elephants with gold and silver housings, to Shah Jehan; one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, with elephants and jewels, to Dara Shikoh; and

fifty thousand pounds, and fifteen elephants, to Juhanara Begum. But these presents exposed him to the vengeance of Aurungzebe, at that time viceroy of the Decan, and who resented the preference which had been shown his rival brother. He invaded his country, but was prevented from prosecuting his conquests by the illness of Shah Jehan. The unfortunate country, however, did not derive any relief, as it was immediately exposed to the incursions of Sevajee, who soon bereft it of its remaining strength. Adil Shah was succeeded by his son Ali Adil Shah II., who enjoyed a turbulent and wretched reign of twelve years, bequeathing a nominal kingdom to his son. 1634. 1660. 1672.

Destitute of power and of riches, and exposed both to the attacks of the Mooslims and Mahrattas, his reign must have been a perpetual scene of human misery. The kingdom, if such it can be called, had been shaken to its foundations, and it did not require the presence of Aurungzebe to ennoble its final ruin. 1685.

2. Ahmed Nizam Shah, the founder of the *Ahmednugur* or *Buhree* dynasty, was the son of a Bramin who had been converted in his youth, and raised to great honors and power by Mahmood Shah. The royal falconry was intrusted to his care, whence the appellation of *Buhree*, a derivative from *Buhr*, a species of hawk. Ahmed was raised to the govern- Rise of the Nizam Shahee dynasty.

ment of Khiber, which he greatly enlarged by reducing a number of strong-holds on the great range of western mountains. The authority of Mahmood was generally opposed. The nobles who were not in rebellion were indifferent to the royal commands, while those at a distance disputed his orders, and withheld his revenues. Among the last was Ahmed. A force was sent against him, and he was reduced to the utmost distress. He was relieved from his danger by the rashness of the royal general, who gave himself up to pleasure, and allowed his army to become equally licentious. Ahmed seized the opportunity, surprised his camp, and after insulting his prisoners, set them at liberty. Nor did he fail to make the most of his victory. He openly assumed the prerogatives and ensigns of royalty; but the murmurs or remonstrances of his courtiers induced him to discontinue the usual prayers. Dunda Rajpoor, with the whole of the Kokun, submitted to his arms. The city of Ahmednugur was founded as an excellent situation for carrying on his designs against Doulutabad. Fortune accomplished what his arms had been unable to effect. The governor had been frequently relieved by the Sultan of Goozerat; and penetrated with gratitude for his kindness, he resolved on delivering up to him a fortress he might not always be able to defend. But the garrison would not enter into his views:
1507. they gave it up to Ahmed Shah, against whom they had so often and so successfully combated. Ahmed Shah did not

long enjoy his conquest; he was seized the following year with a severe disease, which terminated in his death. Among his other good qualities, he was remarkable for his continence, a virtue not common in the east, and of which I select a memorable example.—"When he was a young "man, marching to reduce the fortress of Gawil, there was "taken among the captives a young lady of exquisite "beauty, who was presented as an acceptable gift to the "Sultan by his first minister. Ahmed Shah was charmed "with her person, but being told she had a husband, who, "with all his family, were prisoners, he bridled his desire, "and restored her uncontaminated to her friends, with pre-"sents to a great amount." One of his customs deserves notice. He regularly distinguished those who had behaved ill in battle, which, as might be expected, usually excited them to distinguish themselves on every other occasion. He also introduced the custom of duelling, and made a practice of attending the lists with his whole court. The custom soon spread into other courts, which were soon filled with feuds and dissensions.

Accession of Boorhan Nizam. 1508.

Ahmed Shah was succeeded by his son Boorhan Nizam Shah, a child of seven years of age. The minority of a king affords an ample field for the intrigues of interested courtiers. But in the East, where personal security chiefly depends on the possession of power, and where the prejudices of edu-

cation, and the principles of religion, throw a veil over the enormity of their crimes, the minority of a prince is always accompanied by dissensions, rebellions, and murders. A conspiracy broke out at the commencement of his reign, but was detected, and the traitors fled into Berar, and succeeded in persuading the Sultan to invade the kingdom. The young prince, not nine! was put at the head of his army, and, through the ability of his generals, gave his enemy a complete defeat. Such is the tyranny of custom that kings, of whatever age, are obliged to accompany their armies; for the nobles dread being absent from court, and the troops seldom fight but in the presence of their sovereign. Upon his personal safety, therefore, depends the welfare of a state; and chance, or the cowardice of a prince, has as often led the way to the subjection of a kingdom as the slower, although more certain, causes of decay.

1510.

His ingratitude and folly.

As Boorhan Shah advanced to manhood, he became less attentive to the wishes of the regent; and, at length, completely disgusted him by marrying a dancing girl, and placing her at the head of his Haram. Nor was this the only evil which flowed from so indiscreet an act. It gave rise to a long war between him and Ismael Adil Shah, who resented the injury done his sister, and in which Boorhan Shah experienced many severe defeats. Misfortunes had not reformed him. He gave way to the entreaty of his re-

1524.

lations, and seized upon a small place belonging to the Sultan of Berar, which they asserted belonged to the family. A long war ensued; the Sultan of Guzerat espoused the quarrel, and Boorhan Shah was reduced to such an extremity, as to become tributary to that monarch. He was 1528.
obliged to submit to an interview, but with the crafty policy of an Indian, escaped the indignity of being received by the Sultan on his throne, by presenting him with a Koran, in the hand-writing of Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet. He did not altogether escape; he received the title of *Shah*, 1530.
with permission to use the royal umbrella. He died after a long and inglorious reign, and was succeeded by his son Hoosein Nizam Shah. 1558.

A war with the Portuguese was the most remarkable War with the Portuguese.
occurrence of this king's reign. Revedunda was besieged without success, and a treaty of mutual forbearance was 1558.
soon after concluded. His capital was twice assailed by 1559.
Ali Adil Shah and Ram Raje; and his whole country de- 1526.
stroyed by the ravages of the invaders. He had soon, however, an opportunity of revenging himself upon the Hindoo, by acceding to a general confederacy against that powerful Raja. His conduct greatly contributed to the signal victory which was obtained by the Mooslim confederates. He died soon after his return to his capital.

Moortuza Nizam Shah.

The histories of the five dynasties of the Decan are so closely interwoven with each other as to afford few events which have not been already recorded. Moortuza Nizam Shah being a minor, the kingdom was confided to the charge of his mother Khoonzu Sultana; a woman of singular ability. Various engagements took place between the Ahmednugur and Beejapoor dynasties, usually in favour of the former. The siege of Darwer, however, deserves commemoration. The king, impelled by the tenets of predestination, attacked it without having made a breach, and, fortunately for himself and his army, an arrow having accidentally killed the governor, the garrison surrendered, and afforded a fresh and memorable argument to the advocates of fatalism. He next marched against the Portuguese of Revedunda; but as the enemy received supplies by sea, and had bribed his officers with presents, and large *quantities of wine*, he was obliged to abandon the siege.

War with the Sultan of Berar.

His arms were next directed against the Sultan of Berar, a more feeble enemy. He was on the point of succeeding in his wishes, when he was interrupted in his pursuit of Tuffal Khan by a mad fanatic, who clamorously entreated him in the name of the twelve Imams to give him a sum of money. The Sultan halted, and lost the opportunity of making him prisoner. So wayward and superstitious are

Eastern kings, and so often are the noblest acts excited or frustrated by the lightest causes. The Sultan, in his distress, applied to the emperor Acbar, and an order was obtained, directing Moortuza Nizam Shah to desist from his undertaking. He treated the order with contempt, and succeeded at last in taking Tuffal Khan prisoner. But in the midst of his success he could not refrain from attending to the malevolent insinuations against his minister, the origin of all his victories. He sent him a poisoned bowl, which the minister drank off although aware of its baneful qualities. Stung with remorse, and impaired in his reason, he committed the administration of his government into the hands of regents, and abandoned himself to religious fanaticism, and sensual enjoyment. The kingdom fell into the utmost disorder; a conspiracy ensued, and he was confined and murdered by his son. 1587.

Reign of Meeran, and extinction of the dynasty.

Meeran Nizam, the parricide, commenced his reign, as might have been expected, by the murder of his male relations. But he did not long enjoy the fruits of guilt, being deposed and murdered after a short reign of two months. He was succeeded by Ismael, who was deposed by his father Boorhan, and whose reign is no farther memorable than for a severe defeat sustained from the Portuguese. The utmost confusion prevailed upon his death; the capital was besieged 1594. by Sultan Moorad, son of the emperor Acbar, but who was

repulsed by the gallantry of the princess Chand Beebee. The following year Acbar advanced to Asseer Gurh, and detached his son Daniel, with the title of Viceroy of the Decan, against Ahmednugur. The heroic Chand Beebee had been murdered, and with her sank the spirits of the garrison[15]. The fort was taken, and Sooltan Buhadoor, the last sovereign of this dynasty, was sent a prisoner to the strong fortress of Gualior. Upon the retreat of the Moguls the little remaining country was divided between Mulik Amber, an Abyssinian slave who had risen to great power, and Rajoo Minaun. The dissension which prevailed at Delhi subsequent to the death of the emperor Acbar, re-
1626. tarded his subjection until the reign of Shah Jehan. His son succeeded to a nominal reign. The Decan was under the control of the emperor of Delhi, nor do the feeble efforts it made to recover its expiring authority deserve commemoration.

Rise of the Kootub Shahee dynasty.

3. The founders of most Eastern kingdoms have been aspiring adventurers, who have given scope to their ambition, and have raised their own glory and independence upon the defeat and subjection of their masters. Such was Kooli Kootub Shah, a Turkish adventurer. Under the reign of the unfortunate and voluptuous Mahmood, he was caressed and promoted. Golconda and Telengana had been

[15] See Appendix.

intrusted to his charge; and by the latter title he announced his rebellion and independence. The wretched policy, 1515.
and the insufficient resources of Mahmood, did not oppose any obstacles to his views; he enjoyed a long reign of thirty-seven years, and bequeathed his kingdom to his son Jumshyd, who enjoyed it seven years. Ibrahim was a wise and virtuous prince, and consequently his reign is wanting in those great events, as they are falsely called, which are so abundant in the annals of the worst of kings, a distinguished conqueror. But although his reign is not remarkable for splendid victories, he enjoys the more honourable praise of having conferred peace and security upon his afflicted subjects. Men of the greatest abilities were invited to his court, while the uniform mildness of his government ensured him the highest applause among surrounding nations. He enjoyed a tranquil reign of thirty-two years. Moohumud 1581.
founded the city of Bhagnugur, but for unknown reasons abandoned his work, and removed to Hyderabad[16]. His 1586.
pride was gratified by an embassy from Shah Abbas, the most potent of the Persian kings, and his daughter was sent into Persia to be united to that monarch's son. The reigns of the two succeeding kings are an entire blot, until Abdoola

[16] The ruins (which I have seen) are very extensive. Various reasons are assigned for his abandoning his design; the real one, I should imagine, is the want of water.

1665. was attacked by the emperor Shah Jehan. He consented to become his vassal; but this concession did not satisfy the ambitious Aurunzebe, who, by the conquest of Golconda, completed the overthrow of this celebrated monarchy.

4. 5. Two other dynasties arose upon the ruins of the Bahmenee dominion. The Bureed Shahee was seated at Bidur[17], the capital of that once overgrown empire; but was soon subverted, and the country divided among the neighbouring powers. The other, styled Ummad Shahee, was of still less consequence, and was, as we have seen, subdued
1574. by Moortuza Nizam Shah.

[17] The tombs of the Burcea Shahee dynasty, a short distance from the city, are extremely magnificent, and rival those of the Kootub Shahee at Golconda.

HISTORY

OF

THE MAHRATTAS.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

THE *origin of the Mahratta nation* has been a subject of considerable inquiry; and many fanciful accounts have been given of the rise of this extraordinary people. The Mooslim writers, who have hitherto been our only guides, derive them from the province of Mheerut or Mharat[1], which, among other districts, included Baglana, and which at present forms the most central part of their dominions. The similarity of the word, rather than any inquiry, must have given rise to this derivation; for although they were inhabitants of Mheerut, they were by no means confined to so inconsiderable a province[2]. By Europeans they have

[1] Ferisht Nizamood Deen, an officer in the time of Acbar, who brought down his General History to the fortieth year of that monarch's reign. Also, a Mooslim spectator, who composed his Memoranda in the year 1782-3.

[2] The M in Mheerut, or Mharat, is aspirated, which is not the case in Mahratta.

been derived from a class of Rajpoots called Rathors, and to which it is alleged, the adjunct Maha, or Great, has been affixed[3]. This etymology is below contempt; but the information we derive from the Mooslim writers is of some importance, as it introduces the Mahrattas as a distinct people, long before they appeared as a race of plundering conquerors[4].

Etymology of Mahratta.

Among the divisions of the Decan, the country situated between the Tapti and the Kistna, is denominated Maharastra, and is distinguished by that dialect of the Sanscrit which obtains the name of Mahrattas[5]. The inhabitants of this immense division of the Decan are also called Mahrattas, and under that denomination were known long before their rise to power and dominion[6]. Yet, contrary to the practice of ennobling nations by dark legends or idle fables, or what is more common in the East, of descending

[3] Mr. Holwell, Colonel Dow, &c. Mr. Tone, wastes much time in attempting to prove that it is impossible for any Rajpoot to become a Mahratta: but he is mistaken; a Mahratta cannot become a Rajpoot, but a Rajpoot may become a Mahratta. See Mr. Ton's Letters.

[4] Mheerut and Mahrattas, are mentioned very early in Ferishta's History of the Bahmenee kings, page 32. A. D. 1365. p. 74., as being in the king's seraglio, p. 158. p. 226. The king Yusuf Adil Shah leaves four children by one mother, originally a Hindoo, very beautiful, and *sister* to a *Mahratta chief.*

[5] M. Anquetil du Perron approached nearest of any to the truth, although he did not entirely attain it.

[6] Ferishta, passim.

them from Noah, they have been reviled as the wretched outcasts of society, who had neither habitations nor country until the rise of their imaginary founder Sevajee. Of their history until the time of Sevajee little is known; yet it may be presumed that Deogurh was their capital, and that the Mahrattas were the first victims of Mooslim avarice and religious zeal[7]. Whatever may be the antiquity of this nation, it would have acquired little celebrity but for the wonderful genius of the great Sevajee; who, living at a period when the sovereignties of the Decan were in a stage of decline, and when the vast power of the Delhi emperors was lost in the extent of their operations, seized the opportunity of emancipating his countrymen from severe bondage, and religious tyranny.

Origin of Sevajee.

Shajee[8], the father of Sevajee, was an illegitimate descendant from the Rana of Oodipoor, a prince of the highest rank among the Hindoos, and whose title is as old as the age of Ptolemy[9]. His grandfather Babajee Bhonsla, upon the death of his father, moved from Oodipoor into Candesh, and proceeding still farther from his vindictive relations, died in the neighbourhood of Poona, at that time an incon-

[7] It is possible that the Raja of Tagara, or Deoghur, was a Mahratta.

[8] See Appendix, Note 1.

[9] Rennell. The Mooslim writers, and Captain Wilford, suppose the Ranas to be descendant of Noushervan;—a fanciful conjecture.

siderable village[10]. He left two sons, Malojee and Wetojee; who, quarrelling with their relations, retired to Ellora, and engaged themselves in agricultural pursuits. They soon became disgusted with the even course of a rural life, and abandoning their farms, entered into the service of Lukojee Jadoo Rao, an officer of considerable rank under the Nizam Shahee government. Their pay was inconsiderable, nor was their rank much higher than that of common horsemen; they were, however, admitted to the privilege of eating with their master. Pleased with their situation, they sent for their wives and families. At this period, Wetojee had eight sons; Malojee had none, when the superstition of his wife induced her to entreat the intercession of a Mooslim saint[11], and to promise that, in the event of his prayers being effectual, her child should assume his name. She had afterward two sons, Shahjee, remarkable for his beauty, and Shurfojee.

Jadoo Rao's imprudent fondness for young Shahjee.

Jadoo Rao took great notice of Shahjee, and frequently carried him into his private apartments, as a fit play-fellow for his only daughter Jijaoo. Upon the celebration of a great Hindoo festival, they were both introduced to par-

[10] I here prefer the Persian MSS. The Maharttas do not take up the history at so early a period; but they admit Babajee to have been a foreigner *(Purdesee)*, which renders their silence significant.

[11] This is by no means unusual; nor for Mooslims to have a Hindoo name.

ticipate in its festivities, when Lukojee Jadoo casually observed, they were worthy only of each other. The brothers heard the observation, which coming from a great man, is, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, infamous to revoke. They arose from their seats, repeated the expressions he had uttered, and called upon the persons present to witness the engagement. Jadoo Rao was too much surprised or incensed to make a reply, which by no means satisfied the females of his family, who upbraided him with the folly of harbouring even a thought of giving his daughter to a wretched *Koombee*, the son of a common horseman. The brothers pursued their scheme, refusing to eat with him as usual, until he should celebrate the marriage. Jadoo Rao, incensed at their unprincipled conduct, gave immediate orders for their discharge, and they were again under the necessity of resorting to their former occupation of husbandry. But their disgrace, instead of injuring, raised their characters, and even interested the goddess Buvani in their behalf. She revealed herself to the astonished brothers; informed them of concealed treasures, and exposed to their view the happy destiny of their descendants[12]. This story is admirably adapted for the criterion of Hindoo judgement, which, being unable to account for human events, immediately supposes an interposition of the Deity, and thus resolves a difficulty, by placing it above human conception.

[12] M. MSS.

The brothers quit Ellora.

The riches, however obtained, were of great service. Once more they left Ellora, and arriving at Chumargoonda, intrusted their history and design to Sheshava Naek Pondé, a person of rank, who promised them his assistance. Under his auspices they equipped a small force, an undertaking of little difficulty, as the Decan was infested with hordes of plunderers. They also applied to Wangpul Nimbhalkur, who was at the head of a party of twelve thousand banditti, who joined them with a force of three thousand men. The brothers now crossed the Godaverry, and advanced towards Doulutabad, where the wretched pageant of the Nizam Shahee dynasty resided; but the method they took to interest the Mooslim government in their favour, was bold and singular, and must have been founded upon an intimate knowledge of its internal weakness. They informed the king of the nature of their grievance, adding that, until Jadoo Rao was compelled to execute his engagement, they would slay a hog, and writing their demands in its blood, would throw the paper, with the dead animal, into their mosques and sacred places. The Mooslims who had attended the mosques found that they had executed their threat; filled with rage and horror they instantly repaired to the king, who was obliged to adopt the passions of his subjects. But instead of wreaking his vengeance upon the profane authors of the offence, he commanded Jadoo Rao to repair to court, and reviled him as the cause of this

horrid pollution. He insisted upon his giving his daughter to Shahjee, promising to put his family upon a footing with his own. Jadoo Rao gave an unwilling consent, and the marriage was immediately celebrated with much pomp and splendour at Doulutabad. The brothers received the titles of nobles of twelve thousand, a nominal honour which gratified their vanity, as it raised them to an equality with *Jadoo Rao*. The family of Bhonsela was now incorporated with the Mahrattas, and soon obtained an eminence which placed it above any in the nation[13].

Young Shahjee appointed regent.

Upon the death of Nizam Shah, the young Shahjee was appointed by the queen-mother regent of the wretched kingdom which still belonged to the family. But Jadoo Rao who aspired to the same office, and who resented the indignity which had been put upon his family, threw himself into the hands of the Moguls, gratifying his ambition and revenge, at the expense of the independence of his country. The Moguls, who had long meditated a conquest of the Decan, did not decline so favourable an invitation. Mir Joomla[14] crossed the Nerbuda with sixty thousand men, and was soon joined by Jadoo Rao, and other nobles, who envied the good fortune of the adventurer Shahjee.

[13] M. MSS.

[14] See his history in Dow. He was the intimate friend of Aurungzeb, and was of material service to that aspiring prince. He lost his life on an expedition into Aracan.

But, although deserted by his relation, and the nobles of the state, he did not abandon himself to despair. Shahjee retired to Calian, and resisted the Mogul's arms six months. The fort was at length reduced to the greatest distress: and Shahjee, who had procured a safe-conduct, with great promises, from the Beejapoor government, abandoned it to its fate. Jijaoo, who at this time was pregnant with Sevajee, was unequal to the fatigue of travelling; he was therefore obliged, after he had advanced a short distance, to leave her behind, and to prosecute his flight with his son Sambha. Jadoo Rao had commenced a pursuit; and was more intent upon the gratification of his revenge, than the protection of his daughter; nor was it until his attendants had pointed out the danger she ran of falling into the hands of the Moguls, that he consented to provide for her safety. She
1626-7. was sent to the fortress of Soneree, where she was safely delivered of Sevajee[15].

Favourable reception of Shahjee at Beejapoor.

Shahjee was received by the Beejapoor government with the greatest distinction, receiving the title of a noble of twelve thousand, with large grants of land in the Carnatic. Jadoo Rao, defeated in his views, returned with the Moguls to Ahmednugur, and accompanied them on their return as far as the Nerbuda. But the enemy he had introduced did not abandon the footing they had obtained in the Decan. Upon the pretext of composing some dissen-

[15] M. MSS.

sions which had again broken out at the court of Hyderabad, they returned, and were defeated, and beat across the Nerbuda, by Mulik Umber, who had succeeded to the office of regent. Meanwhile, Shahjee continued to gain ground in the affections of the king and his minister, and his services justified their partiality. The whole of the Decan, at this period, was infested with banditti, and parties of freebooters, who, taking advantage of the weakness of the Mooslim governments, established themselves in various parts of the empire. The country in the vicinity of Poona was in the hands of two of these insurgents: Shahjee was detached against them, and succeeded in destroying their strong holds, and securing their persons. He received the conquered districts as a reward for his services, and building a house at Poona for the reception of his wife and family, committed the management of his lands, and the education of his son, to Dadajee Kondeo, a man of extraordinary abilities. 1633.

He next distinguished himself at the capture of Canicgeery[16], where he lost his eldest son Sambha, who was killed by a musket-ball. His loss, or the enmity he bore Jadoo Rao, might have induced him to marry Tookya Bhy, Takes Canicgeery.

[16] Or Chandergeeree, which became the seat of the Beejnugur Rajas when they were driven from their ancient capital by the Mooslims. It is probable they were afterwards driven as far as Vellore. One of its Rajas permitted the English to purchase the land on which Madras and Fort St. George now stand. The Penigondah of Cæsar Frederic is possibly Anagoondy.

a Mahratta, by whom he had Ekojee, the ancestor of the Raja of Tanjore. This match was highly resented by Jijaoo and Sevajee, who, although deserted by his father, received a most excellent education from his guardian Kondeo. Shahjee, indifferent to the interests of his former wife and son, prosecuted his conquests in the Carnatic, and joining the Raja of Tritchinopoly, subdued Tanjore, with all its dependencies. But, disagreeing with the Raja respecting his share of the plunder, he instantly attacked his army, defeated and slew him in a general engagement, and acquired possession of the whole of his territory[17].

Sevajee's lawless conduct.

Sevajee who now approached manhood, being about seventeen years of age, refused any longer to submit to the control of his guardian. The old man, disappointed in his hopes, and incensed at his lawless conduct, destroyed himself by poison[18]. Being now free from restraint, he adopted a bolder line of conduct, dismissing his father's troops, and entertaining a corps of twenty-five thousand men. He also seized upon the treasures which had been accumulated for Shahjee, and appointed officers to superintend the various branches of his infant kingdom. Shahjee either unable to resist his son's usurpation, or pleased with the bold conduct of a youth of seventeen, confirmed him in the government.

[17] See Appendix, Note 8.

[18] P. MSS.

The Moguls, who had never abandoned the footing they had obtained in the Decan, had now subdued the provinces of Berar and Candesh; had founded the noble city of Arungabad, and had advanced to the gates of Golconda and Beejapoor. Aurungzeb and Mir Joomla had exacted contributions from these princes, who were indebted to a temporary escape only, by the illness of Shah Jehan, and the ambition of his crafty son. This wily prince, who had constantly fixed his eyes upon the throne, but who had disguised his designs by the most exquisite hypocrisy, considered the present as a proper season for the execution of his plans. Anxious to leave little to fortune, he endeavoured to strengthen his interest by forming connexions with the Decan chieftains, and among others addressed himself to Sevajee. Sevajee treated the letter with unusual contempt; it was tied to the tail of a dog, and exposed to the derision and laughter of the inhabitants of Poona. Aurungzeb did not forget the insult; he declared at the time he would have ample vengeance, but although he succeeded in his enterprise and enjoyed a long reign, he was unable to accomplish his vow. The policy of Sevajee is not very evident, for the horror which he affected to feel at his unnatural rebellion, was ridiculous in a person who stood in a similar situation, and at that period his most daring hopes could not have indulged the idea of resisting the Mogul arms. Whatever may have been the motive, his conduct

Aurungzeb applies to Sevajee.

gave rise to a tedious and unsuccessful warfare, and accelerated, if it did not occasion, the ruin of the house of Timoor[19].

Conquests of Sevajee. 1655.

Aurungzeb's departure from the Decan afforded a temporary respite to the Mooslim powers, who had not submitted to the Mogul authority. But their repose was soon interrupted; and by an enemy who effected his views rather by stratagem than violence. Sevajee's first enterprise was against Ponadhur, or Porunder, which is situated upon a range of hills that break off from those stupendous mountains which skirt the western shore of India. An intimate friendship subsisted between the commander of this fortress and his father, and it was upon this pretext that he advanced with a considerable force toward the place. Sevajee lamented the loss he had sustained in the death of his guardian; deplored his forlorn situation, and concluded by entreating permission to reside in the fortress under his protection. He had not adopted this measure upon slight grounds; having opened a correspondence with the commandant's brothers, who had promised their assistance. But, although he received an answer to his request, he was not able to accomplish his purpose of gaining entrance into the fort with a body of his people. At length the festival

[19] See Appendix, Note 3.

of the Dewali occurred; and the commandant, conceiving he should be inexcusable if he suffered the son of his old friend to celebrate the festivity at the bottom of the hill, consented to his admittance, and to the number of persons he was anxious to introduce. Three days had past in uninterrupted harmony, and the next morning was fixed for his departure. The commandant, overcome by the fatigues of the festival, had retired to rest, leaving Sevajee to be entertained by his brothers. The opportunity was not lost; Sevajee was introduced into his room by his credulous associates; tied him to his bed, and with the aid of his people secured his treacherous companions[20].

The fame of this exploit spread through the adjacent country. Chakun, a fortress of great importance, submitted without a blow; while by money and intrigue he obtained possession of the strong-holds of Rajgurh, Pulmawatee, Sowelee, Singh-gurh, Toorna, and Prutchund Gurh. He also built the fort of Raegurh or Rairi, and fixed upon it as the capital of his growing kingdom[21].

The great chain of western mountains, which forms a stupendous wall to the lowland country, is called, in the language of the country, Ghats, which, in reality, however, The Ghats.

[20] M. MSS.

[21] See Appendix, Note 4.

merely signifies passes. Hills and mountains again divert from these lofty barriers of nature; the ground for many miles is broken, rocky, and shelving, while the prospects are so rugged, so diversified, and often so romantic, as can scarcely be imagined by inhabitants of a more level country. These mountains have every appearance of being antediluvian; and the inhabitants have not failed to take advantage of the shallow bed of mould which has been deposited in their numerous ridges. Cultivation is carried on to a certain extent; cattle browse on parts which are less fertile, and the petah or town is seated on one of its largest ridges. The fort is at the summit, and the ascent to it, at all times difficult, is often dangerous. Narrow steps are cut in the solid rocks, affording a difficult and tedious ascent, while broad chasms, passed over on planks, protect them from sudden assault. Numerous are the strong-holds of this description in the Decan; and Sevajee, who knew their value, spared neither labour nor expense to become master of such impregnable possessions.

Seizes Joulee. Sevajee's next effort was against the Raja of Joulee, who, although a tributary of the Beejapoor government, was a person of considerable consequence. During his whole life, Sevajee preferred treachery and intrigue to violence, nor did he fail to resort to it upon the present occasion. On pretence of asking the Raja's daughter in mar-

riage, he sent an active and daring officer with a party of one hundred men; and the minister who came out to meet him, fell a victim to such hardened guilt. The third day he assaulted the city, carried it, and acquired vast riches. His army soon increased to sixty thousand men, and he consequently became more daring in his undertakings. He no longer skulked from hill to hill, or hid himself in the recesses of the mountains: his ravages extended into the champaign country; Goa trembled at his approach, Sawuntvaree was plundered, Rajpoor taken, and Koreeah destroyed by the springing of a mine.

Efforts of the Beejapoor government to subdue him.

The Beejapoor government had often, and in vain, tried the efficacy of threats and promises. It then applied to Shahjee, who was still in the Carnatic, to repress his son's rebellion: Shahjee anticipated his refusal, and abandoned him to the vengeance of his incensed sovereign. A force of twelve thousand men under Abdoola Khan was sent against him, and which penetrated as far as Wye upon the Kistna. He then sent his secretary with offers of pardon, and promises of promotion, and also to arrange the necessary steps for an interview. Sevajee consented to the meeting, refusing however to allow the army to encamp below the fort, or to admit him with a large retinue. The preliminaries of the interview were at length adopted, and Sevajee prepared himself for one of the most desperate enter-

prises of his life. Nor did he assume that tranquillity, which a constant intercourse with danger usually affords. He distributed large presents to Bramins; sent two to Gya and Benares to intercede with the Almighty; and forc-going his usual dress, discovered that he was embarked on an undertaking of doubtful success. His mother clung to him, and entreated him to abandon his design. But although his conduct betrayed his anxiety, he omitted no precaution to render his treachery effectual. An ambuscade was planted near the tent; his garrison was distributed in the most convenient situations, and his guns were directed against the camp of the enemy.

Murder of Abdoola Khan.

Abdoola Khan advanced in defiance of the remonstrances of his friends; but as the road leading to Pertab Gurh was uneven and narrow, he was obliged to alight from his elephant. He then proposed that Sevajee should meet him below the fort; this he positively refused, and the Khan persevered in his original intention. As he advanced, Sevajee took a hasty but affectionate farewell of his friends, committing his son Sambha to their protection. He then advanced to meet him, and as is customary in the East, they both extended their arms to embrace each other. Abdoola Khan, who was a man of great personal prowess, secured him with one of his hands and endeavoured to stab him. Sevajee was indebted for his life to the pre-

caution he had used of wearing armor. Disengaging himself from his grasp, he plunged a *Bhagnak* (a weapon, when the hand is closed, resembling rings upon the fingers, concealing in the palm of the hand sharp steel claws, whence the name of tyger-claws[22]) into his stomach, and cut him down with his sword. His secretary endeavoured to avenge the act, when Sevajee with uncommon hypocrisy, for it could scarcely result from religious prepossession, bade him fly, as he should always hold sacred the life of a Bramin[23]. The troops now rushed out, and not a man, except the fortunate Bramin, escaped to relate the horrid murder. The Beejapoor army was not allowed to recover from its panic; it was surprised and defeated, retiring with the loss of its horse, guns, elephants, and camp-equipage[24].

Advantages derived from it. 1652.

The effects of this daring murder were soon felt by the government of Beejapoor. Setara immediately opened its gates, Chundun Wundun, Gour Gurh, Wishal Gurh, Pagurh, Deogurh, and Jurud Sode, surrendered, and Panala was taken by surprise[25]. Ufzul Khan, the son of Abdoola

[22] Thus described by Cartrou. Il fit attacher un bistouré des mieux aiguisés à une bague qu'il portoit au doigt. Le bistouré tournoit aisément autour de la bague, et pour lors il etoit caché dans l'ombre de sa main.

[23] It is difficult to say whether Aurungzeb or Sevajee was the greater hypocrite.

[24] See Appendix, Note 5.

[25] Orme.

Khan, who had returned wounded to Beejapoor, daily importuned the minister to grant him his revenge upon his father's assassin. The capture of Panala effected more than his constant clamours. An army of eighty thousand men was soon assembled, which immediately marched against Panala where Sevajee had retired. The siege was carried on with considerable activity for six months, when the Moslims established a battery upon a commanding height near the fortress. His friends advised him to retire, apprehensive for his safety, or conceiving that his escape would induce the enemy to raise the siege. Sevajee left a garrison of twenty thousand men for the defence of the fort, and retreated with forty thousand to Wishal Gurh. He had arrived within a short distance of the fort, when he was overtaken by the enemy, who had pursued him with a superior force. Bajee Prubhoo proposed, as the ground was broken and narrow, to dispute the pass with half the troops, while Sevajee retreated with the remainder. This was done, and it was agreed that the guns of the fort should announce his safety. The enemy now advanced and gallantly attacked the pass, which was defended with equal obstinacy. Fresh troops were led to the assault, and were repulsed, when the guns of the fort proclaimed the safety of Sevajee. The enemy, however, was not acquainted with the signal; he renewed his attacks, and upon the death of Bajee Prubhoo, who fell at the head of

his men, carried the pass. The Beejapoor army immediately sat down before Wishal Gurh, but a scarcity of water soon compelled it to retire. Sevajee did not fail to reward the services of his troops, or to distinguish the family of his faithful officer Bajee Prubhoo. He also established the eight pradhans or chief counsellors of state, giving his government a form and shape which it had not hitherto possessed.

Views of Sevajee to maritime possessions.

Sevajee, in his irregular incursions into the Kokun, had beheld with admiration the powerful settlements, for so they must have appeared to him, which had been formed upon the sea-coast. He aspired to participate in so profitable a commerce, and while spreading his ravages throughout the Kokun, found leisure to add to the fortifications of Rajpoor Sevendroog and Colaba. His orders to build a fleet were checked by the defection of the Sidee, who had revolted from the Beejapoor government, and had been appointed admiral of the fleet under the Moguls. The Sidees, descended from a race of Abyssinian slaves, had risen to great power under the Beejapoor sovereigns, and had been for a series of years in possession of the maritime towns on the shores of the Kokun. They were hardy, brave, and active; and, as staunch Mooslims, inimical from religion, as well as interest, to the rise of a Hindoo power.

1660.

1661.

CHAPTER II.

Aurungzeb's accession.

AURUNGZEB had succeeded in his daring and flagitious views, and had ascended the throne by the title of Alumgeer or conqueror of the world[1]. His attention was at first directed to the settlement of his new government; for, although his father Shah Jahan was in confinement, he had still a number of friends and adherents; and the intemperance of his disposition induced him to adopt the most desperate means of escape[2]. The troops in the Decan had consequently acted merely on the defensive, and had more than once met with signal defeats.

1657.

The views of Aurungzeb were at length directed towards the Decan, and to the reduction of a power which appeared more formidable than he had at first imagined. Shaistu Khan[3], his maternal uncle, was appointed viceroy of the Decan, with orders to subdue the rebel, as the king thought proper to style Sevajee. Shaistu Khan advanced

[1] As he is generally known by the former name, I shall invariably use it.

[2] P. MSS.

[3] See an account of the extraordinary rise of this family, mixed with some fable, in Orme's Fragments, 185—192.

from Arungabad, beat in his out-posts, and laid siege to Chakun, a strong fortress upon the edge of the champaign country. Here he was detained nine months, and it was not until he had sprung a mine, and effected a breach, that the commandant surrendered[4]. He was received with the attention and honour which so bold a defence had deserved; proposals were made to him to enter the imperial service, but he preferred the service of the rebel Sevajee, and was permitted to return to his master, who rewarded him with fresh appointments.

Sevajee surprises Shaistu Khan.

Sevajee did not allow the enemy to march uninterrupted; he hung upon his rear, destroyed the country, and attacked his advanced parties. Shaistu Khan was not to be impeded; he prosecuted his march, and upon his arrival at Poona, took up his residence in Sevajee's palace. Sevajee, intimately acquainted with every avenue of the place, and relying upon the devotion of his servants, embraced the daring resolution of surprising the Mogul in the midst of his troops. With a small band he left Rairi, and upon his arrival at Poona, applied himself to one of the gardeners, who promised to show him the Khan's sleep-

[4] Mr. Orme says it was taken by flying a paper kite, with a lighted match at its tail, which blew up the magazine; and Mr. Dow, by a shell. The first is utterly improbable; and the use of bombs, if known in the East, was not adopted.

ing-apartments. Every thing was arranged, and upon a dark, rainy night, he joined the gardener with a few trusty
Sept. 1661. adherents. A small guard of twenty-five men was cut to pieces, when Sevajee rushed through the window, as he was told, of the Khan's apartment. Here he found Shaistu Khan's son with his wife asleep; he mortally wounded the unsuspicious youth; but an ejaculation from a female servant informed him of his mistake, and he immediately entered the adjacent room. Shaistu Khan was fortunately awake; surprised at such an intrusion, he fled to the terrace, and as he descended, received a blow on his hand which deprived him of one of his fingers. The alarm was immediately spread; the troops were beat to arms, while elephants with lighted flambeaus were stationed at every avenue. Sevajee attempted one or two passages and found them secured: he then escaped through the window, and was the next morning safe in one of his strong-holds.

Shaistu Khan retires and is relieved.

Shaistu Khan hesitated whether to attribute the surprise to treachery, or to the hardy courage of a daring enemy. He retreated to Arungabad, and was soon after recalled to Delhi. Sevajee did not fail to take advantage of the
Jan. 1664. supineness of the Mogul general. On a sudden, and without the slightest notice, he appeared before Surat, the richest sea-port in the empire, and distinguished as the resort of pilgrims to Mecca. Here he obtained immense

plunder, his booty being estimated at a million sterling. It would have far exceeded this sum, had he pursued a deliberate scheme of exaction; but he was apprehensive of reinforcements being sent from Ahmedabad[5], and retired on the third day with the same rapidity, and by the same unfrequented routes as he had advanced. The English and Dutch factories stood on the defensive, but were not molested, although they must have presented alluring prospects of plunder[6].

Sevajee attacked by Mirza Raja Jysingh. 1664.

But the career of Sevajee's glory was arrested by *Mirza Raja Jysingh, who had succeeded the king's son in the viceroyalty of the Decan*, and who was supported by Diler Khan, an officer of experience and reputation. The Mooslims spread themselves over the Decan, while the Raja, with the bulk of his army, besieged Singh Gurgh, a strong fort which overlooks the city of Poona. Sevajee, who considered any way justifiable for the destruction of an enemy, detached Purtab Rao Goozur to assassinate so formidable a foe. Purtab Goozur entered his camp, as a man seeking service, and, in consequence, was always in attendance upon his person. The opportunity he sought at length occurred; he attacked the Raja when he had

[5] From its sandy situation called Gurdabad, or the City of Dust.

[6] Ovington (Voyage to Surat, p. 186) says Sevajee plundered it for forty days, and that the English and *French* defended themselves with cannon.

few personal attendants about him, but was seized and disarmed. The Raja, with unexampled generosity, dismissed him, augmenting the shame and remorse he must have felt, with considerable presents.

Delivers himself up.

Sevajee on this failure retreated to Poonadhur, and the Raja finding that his women, treasures, and principal officers, were in the fort, immediately abandoned the siege of Singh Gurgh to attack the fort into which he had retired. It was assaulted, and defended with equal bravery, when at length Diler Khan carried a height which commanded the place, and on which he erected a battery. It was now that Sevajee took the desperate resolution of throwing himself upon the mercy of his enemy. Whether it was the result of negotiation[7], or a sudden act of despair[8], is very immaterial; the danger was equally imminent. He suddenly appeared before the out-posts; and, on being conducted to Jysingh, consented to visit Delhi, and to deliver up twenty-four strong-holds, if the Raja would pledge his faith for his security[9]. The Raja readily acceded to his terms, adopted him as his son, and directing the march of victory to be sounded, sent orders for a cessation of hostilities. Diler Khan having effected

[7] M. MSS. [8] P. MSS.

[9] The greatest faith is reposed in the word of a Rajpoort, which of course is the result of experience.

a breach was highly incensed at the treaty, and endeavoured to annul it, by ordering an immediate assault. He was beat back with considerable loss, and being visited the next day by Sevajee, consented to withdraw his troops[10].

Sent to Delhi. 1665.

Aurungzeb heard with pleasure of the capture of his enemy, and sent orders for him to proceed to Delhi. Sevajee made the necessary arrangements for garrisoning his forts, and with a small, but decent retinue, set out for Delhi, accompanied by his son Sambha. Wherever he went curiosity followed him; whole cities came out to behold the man, who had resisted so long, and so successfully, the Mogul arms, and who had distinguished himself by such a variety of daring adventures. As he approached Arungabad the deputy-governor came out to receive him. But Sevajee's spirit was not broken by misfortune; he resented the affront, and upon being told that he was expected, asked angrily why the governor had not met him? Suf Skikun Khan was glad to pacify his resentment; he waited upon him with all the officers of the state, and discharged the order upon his treasury[11].

Disappointed in his hopes.

His reception at Delhi was destructive of his hopes,

[10] See Appendix, Note 6.

[11] Operations in the Decan (Scott).

Yet the conflicting accounts of the Mahratta and Mooslim writers involve every circumstance in doubt and difficulty. It is to be expected that one will debase, while the other will exalt, the character of Sevajee. On one hand he is said to have been dazzled and confounded by the splendour of the Mooslim court; on the other, that he refused to acknowledge the superiority of the haughty Aurungzeb. It is probable, that on finding his hopes disappointed, he pretended madness, rendering himself an object of less suspicion, and his meditated escape more practicable. Aurungzeb resented his conduct, and directed Ram Singh, the son of Jysingh, to demand security for his future submission; and in the event of his not procuring any, to inform him that he must leave his son Sambha as the pledge for his loyalty. Sevajee taxed Ram Singh with a breach of faith; declared he would give no security, and demanded a safe-conduct for the return of his people. No request could have been more agreeable to the crafty Aurungzeb; it was immediately granted, and Sevajee and Sambha, with a few of their principal followers, remained in confinement.

Effects his escape.

As Sevajee showed no impatience under his confinement, Aurungzeb might have imagined that he was reconciled to his fate. But under this semblance of contentment he had concerted a scheme, as novel as it was bold. He had established a custom of giving away once a

week great quantities of sweetmeats and cakes, which were brought from the confectioners in large covered trays. These were at first examined by the guards, but custom had made them relax, and they had been conciliated by the attentions and presents of Sevajee. In one of these trays he concealed his son, and covering himself up in another, both were carried out of the house. An attendant had been left in the bed to personate Sevajee, who had complained of being ill, and it was not until the next evening that his escape was discovered. Proclamations were immediately issued for his apprehension; the roads leading to the Decan were filled with troops, while spies were despatched in every direction to trace his route.

Returns to Rairi.

Sevajee had surmounted the greatest difficulty, and in a country which admits of so many alterations of dress, it was almost impossible to detect him. In the habit of a Byragee, or wandering mendicant, divested of his beard, and accompanied by Nirajee Punt, who spoke the dialect of these people, he boldly took the high road of Mutra Benares, and Gya. He left his son at Mutra in charge of a Brahmin, and having performed his devotions at these celebrated cities of Hindoo worship, prosecuted his journey through the wilds of Goanwara, and thence to Hyderabad[12]. In the

[12] See Appendix, Note 7.

same habit he gained admittance into his capital, Rairi, and threw himself at his mother's feet. She did not know him, but when he pulled off his turban, she recognised her lost son, and, overcome with joy, sank into his arms.

Sevajee had not performed this journey without some uncommon escapes; but they augmented the pleasure which he derived at finding himself amid his native mountains. To complete his satisfaction the Bramin soon arrived with Sambha, whom he had disguised in a girl's[13] dress. He now celebrated his escape with great rejoicings, distributed large sums in charity, and presented the faithful Bramin with forty thousand pounds.

Suspicions of Aurungzeb.

Aurungzeb, naturally jealous, may have been justified in suspecting Ram Singh of conniving at Sevajee's escape. The Rajpoots are distinguished for a nice sensibility of honour; and as the engagement had been violated by Aurungzeb, both father and son might wish to exculpate themselves to Sevajee; and they could do so only, by consenting to his escape. The emperor did not disguise his feelings: the son was banished the court, and the father relieved in his command by Jeswunt Singh[14].

[13] M. MSS. P. MSS.

[14] P. MSS.

Sevajee mean time had retaken most of the forts he had surrendered; but, as a more scornful defiance, he advanced to attack Surat, and was diverted in his intention only by a large contribution. His troops ravaged the adjacent countries at will, for the court of Beejapoor was too weak to offer resistance, while his sudden descents into the Mogul territory eluded pursuit, and prevented resistance. Negotiation succeeded, and was carried on with the utmost art and duplicity for a considerable time. Both parties were intent on deception; yet, although Sevajee failed in his views, he gained a relief from warfare, which he successfully employed against the government of Beejapoor[15]. Nor was Aurungzeb altogether disappointed, for with a refinement of intrigue, of which there is no example, he directed his son to solicit assistance from Sevajee against himself, and to seize him if possible; concealing however from his son, his design, to discover by this means the nobles who were disaffected to his government. Even this intrigue, however deeply laid, did not deceive the sagacity of Sevajee; he maintained his correspondence with the prince, but resisted his importunity to join him, till both became weary of these fruitless efforts of dissimulation[16].

Recovers his forts.

A truce however was concluded, which lasted two years, in which he extended his conquests in the Kokun, and in

Shahjee's visit to Poona.

[15] M. MSS. [16] Orme's Fragments.

the Beejapoor districts. During this interval he entirely destroyed the family of Bajee Rao Gosporé, who had seized his father Shahjee, and sentenced him to an ignominious punishment. Shahjee, penetrated with gratitude at this proof of his son's regard, manifested his affection by coming to Poona on a visit to his son, and neglected wife. Sevajee omitted no means of demonstrating his respect; he ran several miles before his palanquin, attended him as a servant, and refused to be seated in his presence. Shahjee passed two months in the society of his wife and son, and then returned into the Carnatic, where he soon after lost his life, by a fall from his horse, while on a hunting excursion.

Renewal of hostilities. 1669.

A war again breaking out, Surat was once more compelled to submit to the arms of Sevajee, who acquired a vast booty from this rich and populous city. His retreat

1670.

however was intercepted by Daood Khan, who attacked his rear guard and drove him into the Kokun[17]. He had scarcely ended his pursuit, before another large body insulted the city of Boorhanpoor, and eluded his attack by retiring again into the Kokun, through the district of Baglana. The success which attended Sevajee, irritated Aurungzeb, and his suspicious mind attributed it rather to the disloyalty of his generals, than to the genius and resources of his enemy. A succession of viceroys succeeded a succes-

[17] P. MSS.

sion of misfortunes, without amending the state of his affairs. It would be fatiguing to the reader to peruse a series of plundering incursions, which, though inconsiderable in themselves, distressed the enemy, and inured Sevajee's troops to danger and hardships.

Coronation of Sevajee. 1674.

Sevajee, from his first entrance into life, appears to have directed all his views and hopes to the establishment of a new empire. His success had exceeded his most sanguine expectation, and he at length resolved on celebrating his coronation. It was arranged with considerable pomp and splendour, and with all the pageantry which attends Hindoo festivals. After performing many austerities and purifications, he put on the Braminical thread, which is supposed to impart a virtue, even to those who are not born to the distinction. He was next weighed against gold, which was distributed to the poor, and an equal sum was given to the Bramins. He then ascended the throne, gave audience to his ministers, conferred titles, and ordered coins to be stamped with his name[18]. Sevajee was now proclaimed an independent prince; and he omitted no opportunity of confirming his authority, or of extending his dominion.

[18] See an excellent account of Sevajee's coronation in Fryer, who received it from an eye-witness, Mr. Oxenden. Fryer is the only contemporary traveller with Sevajee, whose account of the Mahrattas is in any way authentic.

March into the Carnatic.

Upon the death of his father, Sevajee had written to his brother Ekojee, who had succeeded to his father's possession in the Carnatic, to meet him. He had been instigated 1677. to this step by his father's minister, and by the tranquillity he had established throughout his kingdom. Sevajee advanced into the Carnatic by the way of Hyderabad, where he was sumptuously entertained by the king and his minister Adna Pundit, who could not, however, escape the payment of a large contribution [19]. He then prosecuted his march, crossed the Toombudra, and was soon joined by his brother.

Fails in his views.

The march of an Eastern army is not conducted with that order or humanity which distinguish the movements of troops in the Western world. The country on either side is rendered desolate, and its route may be traced by ruined villages, and destroyed cultivation. Sevajee observed no greater regularity; he plundered as he moved, and, wherever he found convenient strong-holds, seized them by force, or obtained them by treachery [20]. The unanimity between the two brothers, was soon interrupted by the claims of Sevajee to half his father's possessions. Ekojee demanded an equal share in those which he possessed, but which the other resisted on the ground that he had been the sole origin of his own prosperity. The brother dissembled his

[19] See Appendix, Note S. [20] M. MSS.

feelings, but escaped the ensuing night to Tanjore. Although Sevajee had laid his schemes with much ability, his snares were for once circumvented, and he was obliged to leave a considerable force under Ragonath Rao, to prosecute his conquests. The ex-minister defeated Ekojee in a pitched battle, and he was then glad to purchase a peace by the cession of Colar, Balapoor, Maharajgurh, Jugdeo, Gurh, and a considerable tract of country. Unfortunately we possess no information upon these interesting transactions; Sevajee passed within fifteen miles of Madras, at that period an inconsiderable settlement, seized Ginjee, and extended his incursions into the Mysore.

His efforts to create a navy.

Sevajee, from the commencement of his power, had justly estimated the value of maritime possessions, and the greater part of his attention had been directed to the attainment of so desirable an object. The completion of his plans was intrusted to Moro Punt, his principal minister, who found himself however unable to cope with the Sidee, inured to a sea-life, and possessed of large and stout vessels. Several of these engagements were fought within sight of Bombay, which at that time was exposed to the insults of either party, and, from its dependence upon the Mooslim court, unable to adopt any other measures than those of self-defence. But the relations of predatory incursions, acts of piracy, or trifling negotiations for plundered

property, are beneath the dignity of history; it will be sufficient to observe that Sevajee was foiled in his projects, and that the peaceable government of Bombay, seated between two rival powers, was alternately insulted and plundered by that which became the strongest[21].

Buhadoor Khan, who had succeeded to the vice-royalty of the Decan, maintained an uninterrupted warfare with the Mahrattas; but it was solely defensive, as he never ventured to attack them but in the champaign country, resigning their mountainous lands in the Kokun to them without a blow. The arms however of the Moguls were not idle; they overran Beejapoor, and levied vast sums from the conquered districts.

Sambha flies to the Moguls.

The jealousy between father and son in the East is proverbial; nor was Sevajee exempt from this misfortune. Sambhajee, suspicious of his father's intentions, or impelled by a wild and criminal ambition, had joined Diler Khan, and had assisted him in the reduction of his father's forts. But the implacable disposition of Aurungzeb ruined the fairest prospect he ever possessed of undermining the Mahratta power. Sambhajee was ordered to court, but, as Diler Khan had given him the most positive assurances to the con-

[21] See a minute and exact account in Orme's Fragments.

trary, he connived at his escape, and Sambha threw himself upon the clemency of an indulgent father[22]. Sevajee received him with the utmost cordiality, appointing Parnala as the place of his residence. Shortly after he advanced against Jalnapoor, but, being closely pursued by Runmust Khan, was obliged to stand the brunt of an engagement, and met with a severe defeat. He retired to Raipi, and, as usual among the Mahrattas, detached his troops after the Dessara, to raise contributions from the neighbouring provinces[23].

Sevajee's death.

His constitution had now begun to fail; he was seized with a spitting of blood, and expired upon the 5th of April 1680, in the 53d year of his age, and the 36th of his reign, dating it from the death of his guardian Kondeo. A long and eloquent character has been given of this prince, which places him in a more amiable light than this History can admit. He was short, and dark, with piercing eyes which showed much animation[24]. Of his manners and private life, little can be known; he was a good son to a bad father, which is an eulogy few have deserved. He was superstitious beyond the rest of his countrymen, seeking the protection of the Almighty in the perpetration of his worst

[22] See Appendix, Note 9. [23] See Appendix, Note 10.

[24] Ce Raja est petit et bazané, avec des yeux vifs qui marquent beaucoup d'esprit.

crimes. This might be attributed to hypocrisy, if the greatest superstition had not been observed in the vilest of mankind. All his virtues, and they were few, were allied with their correspondent vices. His courage degenerated into cunning, and ended in assassination; his wisdom consisted in exquisite hypocrisy and refined dissimulation. But his talents as a soldier place him above the heroes of the East. His schemes comprehended the option of more than one success; nor did the accomplishment of his object discover the extent of its advantage, until developed by subsequent acquisitions[25]. His personal activity was astonishing; no route, however obscure, but had been traversed by his indefatigable patience. His troops, led by himself by the nearest and most secret paths, hardly knew the object of their attack, until they beheld the enemy they were to defeat, or the city they were to pillage. His passions were at his command; and he never betrayed, either by word or gesture, the movements of his mind. No emergency, however sudden, found him without resource; no danger, however imminent, appalled a mind accustomed to the greatest trials. With many of the great qualities of a hero, as they are falsely called, he possessed the vices of a robber and an assassin. He preferred treachery and circumvention, to undisguised and honourable warfare; he but rarely attacked

[25] Orme's Fragments.

a place which he had not divided with dissensions, or seduced by corruption. Princes trembled even in the midst of their armies or citadels; for there was little security against the man who preferred the blow of an assassin to dear-bought victory.

But however harsh it may sound, he could not have risen to the power and pre-eminence he obtained, without the commission of various crimes. The Eastern world abounds in a succession of deceits, conspiracies and murders; and the mind becomes hardened against acts, which strike Europeans with the utmost horror. Self-defence or necessity is urged as an extenuation, if not as an excuse; the Mooslim consoles himself with the perverted tenets of predestination, while the Hindoo trusts, that in another life, he will be able to purge himself of his present crimes. In a country where education and example tend so much to palliate the most flagitious acts; and where false religions soften, if they do not altogether lull, the compunction of conscience, what hope can be formed, that the rise of a nation to liberty and dominion should not be marked by bloodshed and murder? These reasonings are not intended to palliate the most criminal and destructive vices, but to show the fatal effects which result from false religions, and the perverted principles which they instil, and the more dreadful crimes they justify or excuse.

His character by Aurungzeb.

Aurungzeb, who affected to style Sevajee the Mountain Rat, did his character that justice when dead, which he had refused to it while living. Unable to conceal his joy, he observed: "He was a great captain, and the only one who has "had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have "been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of "India; my armies have been employed against him nine-"teen years, and nevertheless his state has been always "encreasing[26]."

[26] See Appendix, Note 11.

CHAPTER III.

SEVAJEE must have contemplated with complacency the effects of his own genius. From a low origin he had risen to power and dominion: and had become the founder of a state which in its infancy resisted the mighty efforts of Aurungzeb, and which was destined to subvert the house of Timoor. Many circumstances concurred to render the attempt less difficult than it first appears. It will be the endeavour of this Chapter to develope these causes: and to describe such institutions, either of government or of religion, or such manners or rites, as distinguish the Mahrattas from other nations of the East. Introduction.

Aurungzeb had ascended the throne of Delhi by the imprisonment of his father, and the destruction of his brothers. The dissensions which prevailed during the period he fought for empire, and for some time after, had loosened or broken the bond of submission which had hitherto subsisted between the subject and his sovereign. His own example inspired him with the utmost jealousy of his sons and nobles; while the peevishness of an old man, who had Aurungzeb's accession to the throne: state of his army.

imbrued his hands in the blood of his relations, and who found little satisfaction in the enjoyment of supreme power, alienated the affections of his officers and soldiers. Many went over to the enemy; others quitted him in disgust; while his troops had become useless or superannuated in this long and arduous contest. The officers who enjoyed commands were not anxious to terminate the war; and frequent opportunities of advantage were allowed to pass by, which, had they been seized, might have concluded the contest. Aurungzeb was fully aware of this, and bitterly complained of "the disloyalty of his subjects, who had imposed a plaything upon him, that they might enjoy commands and honours." His officers enrolled the worst troops, and frequently mounted their own menials and slaves, "whose fighting and running away became synonimous terms[1]."

Revenues of the Decan.

Such was the state of his army; nor were his revenues in a more flourishing condition. But here if possible his jealousy and distrust rose to a greater height, and was equally, if not more, fatal to his interests. His father, Shah Juhan, had selected officers of high rank, and large possessions, to govern the distant provinces, and who usually maintained larger forces than the revenues of the country

[1] Operations in the Decan—1161.

would admit. But Aurungzeb chose such only as he thought at his devotion, and who were without interest or connexion. Spies superintended their conduct; while the lightest cause, or most trifling offence, procured their removal, and often their disgrace. Such policy naturally excited a system of bribery, corruption, and extortion: for the governor endeavoured to conciliate his spies, and ministers of state, and which was to be effected only by large presents. Rebellion and revolt soon succeeded; as the governor, though rapacious, was poor, and unable to coerce his subjects. As his revenues decreased, his force necessarily diminished; and so great had been the dilapidation of the revenue, that the countries of Beejapoor and Golconda, which supported the splendour of courts, and maintained two hundred thousand men, now subsisted only thirty-four thousand[2].

His impolitic measures.

But still Aurungzeb did not deem the evil sufficiently great; or, duped by his ministers, which is scarcely credible, was ignorant of the misery and oppression of his subjects. An odious religious capitation-tax was imposed upon the mild and inoffensive Hindoos, and levied with the utmost rigour. Their sufferings at length (and how great must they have been!) exceeded their patience: they resisted, and were overpowered and disarmed. They were now abandoned a

[2] Operations in the Decan.

prey to every body of plunderers. Cultivation ceased, or they tilled but a sufficiency for their own consumption; and a famine ensued, with all its concomitant evils. Such had been the result of the government of one of the wisest emperors. He was now old, afflicted by disease, and rendered miserable by the agonizing recollection of past crimes. His sons and his nobles were impatient for his death, nor did they take the precaution of concealing it from his knowledge.

Character of Aurungzeb.

Aurungzeb, reduced by bodily infirmity, and a prey to mental anguish, did not abandon himself to despair. The mind which had carried him through every danger, and had impelled him to the commission, or supported him in the perpetration, of the most atrocious crimes, was still the same; bold, stern, and inflexible[3]. He held the reins of government with a firm and steady hand. But his means were totally inadequate to the extent of his operations; and for the last years of his reign, he carried on a defensive, rather than offensive warfare. Indeed so pleased was his enemy with the nature of his operations, that he offered up weekly prayers for the long continuance of his reign[4]. This however must have been an affected insult, as he could not but dread the power which defended Cabool and Candahar

[3] See Appendix, Note 12.

[4] Operations in the Decan.

against the Persians, and whose armies knew no other boundary than the sea, at the extremity of the peninsula. Unfortunately for Aurungzeb, he was employed against an enemy, who never in the field opposed his arms. Whenever he was met, he was dispersed, but not subdued; and as Aurungzeb kept a large army round his person, his remaining forces were unequal to cope with a predatory horde who spread their ravages over the whole face of the Decan. A considerable part of his army was therefore useless: for his sieges were conducted slowly, and were but of little detriment to the enemy, even when successfully terminated. His troops were ill paid, and worse fed: while a general spirit of impatience, and dissatisfaction, prevailed throughout his army. This may have been checked by the vigor of his mind, or kept under by the hopes of his death: but the seeds of decay had taken a deep and strong root, and, upon his demise, burst forth into preternatural maturity.

Far different was the situation of the enemy. Sevajee had the command of troops who fought for religion and liberty, against the tyranny of a foreign conqueror. Their minds were rendered elastic by such noble hopes; while the Moguls languished amid the gloom of despair. They fought, or rather plundered, with the spirit and enthusiasm of a rising power: the Moguls, with the calm yet determined valour of men who had characters to sustain. Their mode

State of the Mahrattas.

of warfare was entirely different. Sevajee never engaged but to a manifest advantage: he however ravaged their country, harassed their troops, and intercepted their convoys. Whenever he was opposed, he fled: but as soon as pursuit was ended, he descended like a torrent from his native mountains, and swept every thing before him. No enterprise was too hardy or distance too great to deter the temerity of men who subsisted by plunder. No season, however boisterous, retarded the movements of men inured from their infancy to the vicissitudes of climate. Leaving their native mountains to their thunder, and the roaring of their tumultuous torrents, they spread themselves over the champaign country, while the enemy, unable to resist the tempest, pined away in his flooded camp, the victim of famine, disease, and hostile climate. The whole of the Decan was exposed to their ravages, while the secrecy and celerity of their movements eluded pursuit, and confounded the exertions of their enemies.

Secures the Kokun.

But while Sevajee carried on his predatory warfare, he was not inattentive to the growing interests of his state. The lands in the Kokun were secured and defended; and before his death he had established his authority over an extent of country four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth[5]. His forts extended over

[5] Orme.

the vast range of mountains which skirt the western shore of India. Regular fortifications barred the open approaches: every pass was commanded by forts; every steep and overhanging rock was occupied as a station to roll down great masses of stone, which made their way to the bottom, and impeded the labouring march of cavalry, elephants, and carriages[6].

Aurungzeb saw too late the inefficacy of his measure. He would have made peace; but the Mahrattas had discovered the weakness of the imperial government. Various negotiations were commenced and abruptly terminated; yet it must have been no slight distress which induced the haughty Aurungzeb to consent to the payment of the *desmookee*, or nine per cent. of the revenues, which he subsequently revoked. The attempt which the Mahrattas must have at first thought chimerical, was now realized; their resolution had baffled the exertions of the most potent sovereign that ever ruled Hindostan, while they were habituated to a life which would have rendered subjection to foreigners quite insupportable. The genius of one man had kindled a love of liberty, which it was impossible to extinguish. Nor was it the intemperate effusion of men who enjoy the first burst of liberty. Under the severest distress, without

Aurungzeb sees his error.

[6] Orme.

leaders, and but little unanimity, they persevered; and in a space of time which appears incredible, obtained a power that threatened, in the plains of Carnoul and Paniput, the extinction of the Mooslim name. Three causes chiefly operated to effect this civil and religious emancipation: 1st, The jealousy and distrust which Aurungzeb entertained of his nobles, and which rose to such a pitch, that he intrigued against his sons, and rendered them objects of suspicion among the nobles of the army. This destructive jealousy deterred him from sending a sufficient force at the commencement of the war; for Aurungzeb justly appreciated the resources of the Decan, and he dreaded lest they should be directed against himself. No viceroy was permitted to complete what he had successfully commenced; and if any where the folly and danger of a succession of officers be more apparent, it is assuredly in the East. There, a new commander brings fresh and raw troops, to supply the place of veterans; a host of needy retainers follow in his train, and grasp at every lucrative situation; while those who remain, are employed in conciliating the commander, and securing their immediate interests, instead of opposing the inroads of the enemy. Such had been the fatal effects of Aurungzeb's distrust; and he came too late into the Decan to remedy the evils of his own creation. 2nd, His means were quite insufficient to the extent of his operations. Aurungzeb, under his father's government, had been viceroy in the

Causes for his want of success.

Decan, and there he acquired the means of successfully contending for the throne. He had justly estimated the riches and resources of these flourishing kingdoms, and eagerly grasped the opportunity of effecting their conquest. The government of Beejapoor had lost many of its ancient possessions: Goa and the adjacent country had been seized by the Portuguese; the revolt of the Sidee had deprived it of its maritime force, while Sevajee had subdued its strongest forts, and his father and brother had withheld the revenues of its richest districts. Hyderabad had also suffered, but not to so great an extent. The arms of Aurungzeb were not directed solely against the Mahrattas; the kingdoms of Golconda and Beejapoor occupied his attention, and employed his troops; while some again were employed in the reduction of Berar, and the conquest of Goandwara. Large convoys (for his troops were chiefly supplied from Hindoostan) demanded considerable escorts, and which the Mahrattas attacked with the most determined perseverance. The invaded countries preferred the Mahrattas to the Moguls, and often joined them in resisting the troops of Aurungzeb, who at length discovered, that with an army of two hundred thousand men, he was unable to subdue these roving robbers. His troops were harassed and destroyed by constant marching; and far different must they have been to those of the present day, if we believe the intrepid Zoolfecar Khan[7], to have fought nine-

[7] See Appendix, Note 13.

teen battles, and to have marched five thousand miles, in the short space of six months[8]. 3rd. The nature of the country he had to subdue, and which had been rendered almost impregnable by the creative genius of his enemy. The country below the mountains is entirely flooded for at least three months in the year; and it is even difficult for an army with guns to move during this season on the table land above. His northern troops, unused to such severity of climate, died in great numbers. Nor was he able to penetrate the hills which afforded constant refuge to his enemy; whom he might defeat or disperse, but whom he could not subdue without obtaining possession of his strong-holds. Such being the state of the empire during the firm and vigorous reign of its ablest sovereign, no wonder that a hardy nation, fighting for religious and civil liberty, under the distracted government of his voluptuous successors, should have burst its bonds, and bid defiance to the partial attacks of dismembered provinces.

Sevajee's form of government.

During the infancy of Sevajee's reign, his government was exposed to sudden turns of good and ill fortune, and it was not until he thought his government secure that he directed his attention to give it form or consistency. The governments of most, if not of all nations in the East, are despotic: Sevajee did not aspire to the character of a

[8] Operations in the Decan.

legislator. He however introduced a system of regularity and control which are not discernible in most eastern monarchies, and to which he might have been induced by the antipathy he entertained against the institutions of the Moguls. He established a *Pruthee Nedhee* or Viceroy, or, as the title implies, an "Image of Royalty[9]." His exact duties are difficult to ascertain, but in all probability he conveyed the Raja's orders to the eight *Pradhán*s or counsellors of state, and inspected the whole of their proceedings. These persons had separate duties, and also formed a body to deliberate upon the affairs of government. First, The *Mook'hya Pradhán*, or Peshva as he is commonly called, had charge of the civil branch of affairs, and may be called president of the council. Second, *Amatya*, or superintendant of the revenue, or treasurer. Third, *Senaputee*, or general of the forces. Fourth, *Pravina*, or secretary. Fifth, *Sachiva*, or intelligencer, an officer of considerable trust and importance, as upon his information must have depended the movements of the troops. Sixth, *Muntri*, or, as his name clearly implies, the astrologer. Seventh, *Niayadhes*, the judge: and eighth, *Sumunt*, or auditor of accounts[10]. These officers were removeable at will, and, although usually given to Bramins on account of their superior talents and qualifications, not confined to that order of people. Such were the civil institutions of

[9] See Appendix, Note 14.

[10] See Appendix, Note 15.

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the great Sevajee: his military regulations were still more simple. His infantry, which consisted chiefly of hill people called Maholees, seldom accompanied him, but served as garrisons to his forts, and guarded his conquests in the Decan. His artillery was very contemptible, and he seems seldom to have used it but against the island of Gingerah. The strength of his state consisted solely in his cavalry, which was of two descriptions: men who entertained their own horses; and others called *Bargeers*, who were mounted by himself. He constantly kept forty thousand horses in his stables: over every ten horses was a *Taweeldar*, who had the care of feeding them, a water-carrier, and a torch-bearer: each hundred had an officer, and every thousand an officer who commanded the other ten. A division of five or six thousand had a superior chieftain, and upon the most important expeditions he commanded in person. His *Bargeers* were clothed and armed at his expense, and were paid out of the plunder they had acquired. Numerous spies watched their conduct, and it was seldom that his troops were detected in secreting the plunder or contributions they obtained[11].

Military regulations.

Remarkable feature in the Mahratta government.

The most remarkable feature of Sevajee's government, and which still obtains, is, its being considered as in a state of constant warfare. The Mahrattas were in a great mea-

[11] Operations in the Decan, page 55.

sure indebted for their independence, to their predatory habits; and, as they always maintained a larger army than their revenues could subsist, they greatly relied upon the booty they obtained in their irregular incursions. Their devastations soon extended across the Nerbuda, or boundary of the Decan; and we find, even in the time of Sevajee, large districts purchasing security by the payment of the *Chout*, or a fourth part of the revenue[12]. Whenever Aurungzeb appointed officers to collect the revenues from the conquered districts, Sevajee did the same; and as the revenues were usually farmed out, the farmer, rather than lose the whole, submitted to the exactions of the Mahrattas. The districts which resisted the payment of these contributions were overrun with fire and sword, and the whole of the inhabitants put to death. They were left a dreary waste, as objects of terror to the neighbouring country, which, thus forewarned, willingly paid the requisite contributions. Sevajee, no longer confined to his mountains, extended his ambition to the entire subversion of the Mooslim power; and even to a Mahometan prince declared, that the dominion of the Hindoos should extend from the Carnatic to Delhi[13]: a prophecy rapidly completed by the bravery and zeal of his successors.

The religion of the Mahrattas is that of *Brahma;* nor Religion.

[12] Operations in the Decan. [13] M. MSS.

is it distinguished by any peculiarities or ceremonies. Sevajee affected uncommon veneration for the Bramin character; but as they mixed more with the people, and engaged in all the offices of state, and even in the army, their reverence for them sensibly diminished; and although a Mahratta shudders at the thought of murdering a Bramin, he can deliberately inflict such a punishment upon him as will render his death inevitable[14]. Their rank in the preposterous scale of Hindoo precedency is very low, yet high enough to allow of their associating with Bramins, and of availing themselves of their talents and information. This spiritual degradation, however, is attended with many military advantages. The Mahratta can eat when he chooses, and without either washing or praying, and of all kinds of food but beef. He is always ready to move; while the restrictions which are imposed on the higher orders occupy considerable time, and expose them to frequent surprises.

Their character.

The Mahrattas are a hardy, brave, and active people, short but well made, and industrious and peaceable subjects. They are a nation strictly rural; the three great divisions of *Koomb'hee*, *Doongur*, and *Gaola*, signifying farmer, shepherd, and cowherd. This accounts for that great simplicity of manners, and seemingly affected rusti-

[14] See Appendix, Note 16.

city, which obtain, as well among the richest as poorest Mahrattas. The scenes which Homer has so divinely described, may be contemplated among this rude, but independent people. Princesses have been seen attending the ordinary business of domestic housewifery, and powerful chiefs kindling fires to keep themselves warm on the field of battle[15]. It would be pleasing if the picture could be closed; but the truth of history requires it to be added that the Mahrattas, though rude, are cunning; independent, yet mean; brave, still treacherous; and without the polish, still possessing the vices, of the most refined courtier[16].

Their language is harsh and monotonous, evidently that of an unlettered people. It answers of course for the common occasions of life; but the instant they revert to religion or politics, they are obliged to have recourse to its parent stock the Sanscrit, or to the Persian language. It is almost wanting in abstract terms; nor is that dialect of the Mahrattas, which obtains south of the Kistna, and which abounds in Sanscrit vocables, generally understood by the more northern people. This language is descriptive of their manners and habits, no other abounding in such copious and definite expressions for booty and plunder. The few works in their language are plain and simple, nei- Language.

[15] Mr. Tone's account of the Mahrattas, himself the witness.

[16] See Appendix, Note 17.

ther aspiring at happiness of diction nor splendour of imagery.

Customs.

The customs and rites of the Hindoos are founded on immemorial antiquity. Nor is the claim unjust, for the description of Arrian or Quintus Curtius might answer for the present age. The leading features of the Hindoo character are the same; and if we can trace any difference, it is too minute to recompense the labour of the inquiry[17]. Even the zeal of Mooslim investigation could accuse them only of the general infidelity of their wives, a charge not altogether unfounded[18]. Many will attribute this licentiousness to the freedom they are allowed; while others may conceive it to result from their military and wandering lives, or from the policy of the state, which might otherwise apprehend a want of population[19].

Festivals.

Two festivals distinguish the Mahrattas from their Hindoo brethren; the first is celebrated by the Peshva only, the other is commemorated by every chieftain. The origin of the first, called the *Duchena*, is thus related. "Bajee Row Belal, having some cause of dissension with "the *Senaputi Dhabarya*, of *Tulegong*, endeavoured to "compass his destruction, but could not effect it. His

[17] See Appendix, Note 18.
[18] See Appendix, Note 19.
[19] Montesquieu.

" successor Balaji Baji Row, taking the opportunity of a " family-dissension, marched against the Dhabarya, de- " feated and took him prisoner. It had been a custom " with the latter, in the month of *Shravan*, annually to feed " a number of Bramins during five days, and to present " them with two rupees. During these contests the " Bramins had assembled as usual on this year, in " expectation of their usual charity, but in consequence " of his defeat were disappointed. On hearing of this " assemblage, and deeming it politic to continue the do- " nation instituted by the *Dhabarya* family, Balaji Baji " Row gave orders to that effect. The solemnization of " this ceremony was that year performed as usual at Tule- " gong, and the Peshva proclaimed that this Duchena, or " gift, should next year take place at Poona. At that " period the number of Bramins who had assembled was " trifling; but the news of the Peshva's liberality towards " them induced many thousands, from various countries, " to assemble afterwards at Poona. The concourse at " length became so great, that dinner could not be pre- " pared as before, and an allowance was in consequence " granted them. This part of the ceremony was from the " first to the fifth of *Shravan;* and the gifts of money took " place on the sixth and seventh of the same month. On " the conquests in Hindoostan, Balaji Baji Row filled a " silver bowl with money, and distributed it for three days

" to an assembly of above seventy thousand Bramins. On " the institution of the Duchena the gifts were equally " distributed, but in the reign of the great Madhoo Row it " was ordained that the learned Pundits and Shastries " should undergo an examination at the palace by the head " Pundit, and should there receive gifts proportionate to " their qualifications and knowledge."

Dessara.

The festival of the *Dessara* was instituted by Sevajee, but on what account I have never been able to learn[20]. It may be considered as purely military, although all ranks participate in it, and commemorate it by feasting, revelry, and unbounded licentiousness. The *Dessara* is celebrated on the tenth day of the month of *Asavan*, which always answers to the month of October. As this is the end of the stormy monsoon, the forces of the empire assemble to commemorate the festival, and march afterward upon their plundering expeditions. It became therefore a day of considerable importance, and remote countries anxiously looked to the celebration of the *Dessara* for the developement of the plans of the ensuing campaign. The Peshva or Raja, with unusual pomp, and accompanied by all the chiefs and troops, dressed and accoutred for the occasion, marches into a large plain, and addresses the Sami tree with the following invocation:

[20] See Appendix, Note 20.

" Sami samayetè pápam, Sami satru vinasini Sami " Arjunasya dhanurdhári, Ramasya priya vadani, samayete " pápam. Sami lohit cantaca yarjuna dharinbananam. " Ramasya priya carani, Carishyamana yatrayah, yatha " calam sucham maya, tatra nirvighna cartrilwam, su bha- " vasri rama pujatè.

" *O Sami, be sin extinguished! Sami, thou foe-destroyer!* " *Arjun's bow-bearer, whose converse is the delight of Ra-* " ma, O Sami, be sin extinguished! Sami the iron-thorned! " Bearer of Arjuna's arrows! Delight of Rama! Thou " remover of vexation in the time of my rest. Be auspi- " cious, O adored of the auspicious Rama[21]." Branches or leaves are torn from the tree, and are interchanged upon the idea of their conveying peculiar qualities, and infusing a love of glory. The standing corn is plucked up upon the same principle, and not, as ignorantly imagined, descriptive of their predatory habits. Yet it cannot be denied that the celebration of the *Dessara* is admirably calculated to keep alive that predatory spirit which procured the Mahrattas the fairest portion of the Decan and Hindoostan.

[21] Extracted from the *Vrata Raj* or Royal Duties, a MS. in the library of the Peshva.

CHAPTER IV.

Accession of Sambhajee.

SEVAJEE, upon his death-bed, had observed to his attendants that the dispositions of his sons were extremely dissimilar; Sambhajee passionate and revengeful, Raja Ram mild and placable[1]. Anagi Punt, the rival of Moro Punt, interpreted these expressions into a wish that his youngest son should be his successor. Rajà Ram was accordingly raised to the throne at Rairi, while orders were sent to the commandant of Panala, where Sambhajee resided, to confine his person. But the messenger revealed the conspiracy to Sambhajee, who anticipated the measure by confining the commandant. He then assembled the garrison, acquainted them with his father's death, and demanded their assistance. With a small party he advanced against Rairi, and being joined by Moro Punt, and the chief officers of the state, Raja Ram prudently submitted to the superior claims of his elder brother. Toorya Bhy, disappointed in her scheme of placing her son on the throne, to effect which it was supposed she had poisoned Sevajee[2], destroyed herself.

[1] M. MSS.

[2] See Appendix, Note 21.

Sambhajee, on his accession to his father's kingdom, found himself at the head of a veteran army of seventy thousand horse and ninety thousand foot, with the accumulated riches of many successful campaigns[3]. He did not allow his army to dissipate its strength in luxury or idleness. As this force was in a great measure maintained by the booty it collected, the adjacent country had already been nearly destroyed. Their incursions in consequence were bolder and more extensive: while they raised contributions in Berar, they at the same time ravaged the country of Beejapoor.

His army and riches.

An event happened which raised the character of Sambhajee much higher in the estimation of the neighbouring powers. Sultan Akbar, Aurungzeb's youngest son, disgusted at the preference which was shown his other brothers, entered into a secret treaty with the widow of the Raja of Joudpoor, to seize his father, and proclaim himself king. Aurungzeb discovered the conspiracy, and, with that exquisite address he had always manifested, contrived to render his son suspected by his Rajpoot allies. They immediately returned, and Akbar, with his women, family, and treasures, fled into Joudpoor[4]. Here he was received with the utmost respect, for the imposition had already been dis-

Akbar, Aurungzeb's son, visits Sambhajee.

[3] See Appendix, Note 22.

[4] Orme.

covered,—too late however to be remedied. Akbar left his family under the protection of this state, and escaped himself across the Mahi river, when he sent the recommendations which had been given him to Sambhajee, and received a warm and pressing invitation into his country. Sambhajee continued at Panala, but his officers had received the strictest orders to pay him the utmost respect; and, upon his arrival at Palee Gurh, they came down from Rairi, presented him with an offering of one thousand gold mohurs, and gave the necessary orders for the supply of his camp. But beneath these outward testimonies of respect, lurked a secret mistrust. Akbar had been invited by the partizans of Rama to accept the sovereignty of the Kokun; and Sambhajee had lately narrowly escaped being poisoned. At length Akbar revealed the whole conspiracy; the principal persons were trampled to death under the feet of elephants, and Rama was sent with a decent allowance into one of the forts in the Carnatic. The fears of Sambhajee were now removed: he paid his personal homage to Akbar, escorted him to Rairi, and ordered his army to be assembled
1681. with the intention of supporting the claims of Akbar to the sovereignty of Hindoostan.

Aurungzeb's arrival in the Decan. 1682.

But this scheme was entirely frustrated by the arrival of Aurungzeb at Boorhanpoor. He had concluded a peace with the Rajepoots, and had detached his two sons with

large armies to Aurungabad and Ahmednugur, the precursors of the imperial presence. Sambhajee had come down from Rairi with an army of twenty thousand men, and had laid siege to Gingerah, which he battered incessantly for thirty days. Still his fleet was too weak to attack the enemy, who maintained possession of the sea, and rendered an attack from the opposite shore utterly impracticable. For although Sambhajee might have resolved on the gigantic labour of filling up a channel eight hundred yards long and thirty deep, it was far beyond his means; nor, if he had succeeded, would it have been of much use, as it could not have withstood the heavy seas of the stormy monsoon.

The Moguls enter the Kokun.

He was recalled from his attempts by the Moguls, who had descended the Ghats and invaded the Kokun. Sambhajee did not entirely abandon his attack against Gingerah; he left a small body to act against the place, and threatened the English at Bombay with his severest displeasure, if they any longer admitted the Sidee's fleet into their harbour. But this they could not well deny, as their subjection to the Mogul at Surat obliged them to use every effort of conciliation, while the maritime weakness of Sambhajee made him a less formidable enemy. Various encounters had taken place between the Moguls and the Mahrattas, and generally to the discomfiture of Sambhajee's

troops. At length they marched against Rairi and Satarah, but were opposed and beat back by the Mahrattas, who, fighting for their capitals, and in a country which favoured their mode of warfare, distinguished themselves with redoubled activity. Nor were the Moguls more successful against *Ramsudge*[5]: they attempted to carry it by assault, were repulsed, and obliged to destroy an immense platform of wood, raised at very great expense.

Sambhajee attacks the Portuguese.

Sambhajee, who was as anxious as his father to become a formidable maritime power, had intended to take possession of the island of Elephanta, so celebrated for its astonishing excavations, and of the isles of Anchideva a little to the southward of Goa. He had been anticipated however in his design against the islands of Anchideva by the Portuguese, who had formed settlements, and established garrisons to resist his attacks[6]. Although opposed by an European enemy, he did not decline the contest: he surrounded his camp, obliged him to retreat, took all his heavy baggage and artillery, and killed two hundred Europeans and one thousand natives, before the discomfited Portuguese could escape into the island of Cumbareem. Aurungzeb, who affected to deride the power of Europeans, did not receive the news of Sambhajee's success with much

[5] P. MSS. [6] Orme.

satisfaction. He immediately directed his fleet to sail from Surat to their assistance; but the wretched state of his resources, and the delay which invariably attends the movements of an Asiatic armament, allowed Sambhajee to overrun the possessions of the Portuguese near Bombay, and to subdue the island of Caranja[7].

This success was temporary. Sultan Moizood Deen forced the passes, and spread his cavalry, forty thousand in number, over the whole of the Kokun. The country soon became a desert; but it affected the victors more than the vanquished. A famine ensued, while disease spread its ravages over the Mogul army. Such was the callous and inflexible disposition of Aurungzeb, or such the infatuation of the prince, that although he had represented the distress of his troops, he was afraid to make a movement to relieve their miseries[8]. Sambhajee, on the contrary, possessed resources denied his enemy. His troops were inured to hunger and climate, while their spirits were supported by the hopes of plunder. A body of ten thousand men, with unusual haste and secrecy, skirted the mountains, and, striking off to the East, extended their ravages to the city of Boorhanpoor[9]. They retired with equal precipitation, and the rapidity of their march set pursuit at defi-

Mahrattas plunder Boorhanpoor.

1685.

[7] Orme. [8] P. MS. [9] See Appendix, Note 23.

ance. The pursuit was scarcely ended before a fresh party appeared before Baroach, which they carried by assault.

Aurungzeb conquers Golconda and Beejapoor.

Aurungzeb, at length convinced of the impolicy of attacking an enemy he could not subdue, directed his power to more splendid and less arduous conquests. His armies had already shaken the kingdoms of Beejapoor and Golconda to their foundations, nor did they require the im-
1686. perial presence to grace their downfall. In the ruin of Beejapoor, Golconda beheld its approaching fate without being able to avert the calamity. Yet the noble-minded Moizood Deen refused to violate a sacred engagement; nor did the lustre of conquest shed a sufficient light to de-
1687. stroy the foul blot of Aurungzeb's perfidy. With Golconda, which fell by treachery, sank the once formidable dynasty of Kootub Shah. Aurungzeb led the two captive kings in his train, and received their daily obeisance, at the hour of his public appearance, as if delighted with their mutual anguish, and his own pre-eminence, and determined that each should see the vanquished capital of the other, gazing on the fallen majesty of both[10].

Prince Akbar goes to Persia.

During these operations the Prince Akbar, with a body of ten thousand Mahrattas, had attempted to penetrate

[10] Orme.

into Hindoostan, but was defeated, and obliged to seek refuge once more among the western mountains[11]. Disappointed in all his attempts, and a prey to dejection, he again resolved on abandoning his country, and accordingly embarked for Persia, where he was received with the respect and attention suitable to his high birth and fallen estate[12]. 1686. Sambhajee meanwhile was engaged against the forts and districts belonging to the Beejapoor government in the Carnatic. The extent of his conquests, or rather ravages, is not known; Chetapet and Covrepauk soon surrendered, while a general or superior standard was established at Conjeveram.

But this success was transient. The Moguls soon entered the Carnatic, and expelled him from his new-made conquests. Still Aurungzeb found that he had little prospect of subduing Sambhajee by open and honourable warfare. He resorted to other means; and, unfortunately for Sambhajee, his immoderate propensity for women exposed him to the snares of the enemy. His favourite Kub Kulus[13], or Cablis Khan, who either administered to his pleasures[14], or who possessed a beautiful wife who was at his sovereign's devotion[15], was selected by Aurungzeb as a fit instrument to execute his designs. The whole manage- Sambhajee surprised and murdered.

[11] P. MS. [12] P. MS.—Orme. [13] See Appendix, Note 24.
[14] P. MS. [15] M. MS.

ment of the conspiracy was left to Kub Kulus, who risqued no dangerous attempt on Sambhajee's life by poison or assassination. He prudently watched his opportunity, and it at length arrived. Sambhajee, intoxicated with the description he had received from Kub Kulus of a beautiful Hindoo virgin, put himself at the head of a small party with an intention of seizing his betrothed victim. He was surprised by a body of horse, stationed there by his treacherous minister, and made prisoner. Kub Kulus was treated by the wily Aurungzeb with the punishment he deserved; but Sambhajee was offered life and rank, on the condition of his becoming a Mahometan. Sambhajee rejected the offer with scorn and defiance, and concluded his speech with an invective on Mahomet. The bigotry or affected zeal of Aurungzeb fired at the insult: he was dressed in the fantastic garb of an Indian devotee, and, tied on a camel, was led through the camp, the mock and scorn of a tumultuous rabble. His tongue was then cut out as a penalty for his blasphemy, and he was again asked whether he would be converted. He wrote, "Not "if you would give me your daughter in marriage," an insult the more offensive, as it was more personal, even if we admit Aurungzeb's regard for religion. He was ordered to execution, which was performed by cutting out his heart, after which his limbs and body were separated,

and thrown to dogs prepared to devour them[16]. Human nature revolts at such refined cruelty, yet the torture was contemplated by a prince, of whom it has been said, as well as of another atrocious tyrant, "it would have been "well for his country if he had never lived, or never "died."

The death of Sambhajee was not attended with the effects Aurungzeb had fondly imagined. The Mahrattas had tasted of the sweets of liberty, and had become enamoured of a wandering and predatory life. Their success had induced many of the Decan nobles to join them; while vast hordes of banditti employed part of the army which would otherwise have been entirely directed against them. Rama, upon the murder of his brother, fled, closely pursued by the enemy, to Seringapatam. He effected his escape across the Caveri with only two of his followers, and retired into Ginjee. Upon this, Zoolpecar Khan, who had just taken Rairi[17], was sent to besiege the place, and, being opposed on his march, gained an entire victory over the enemy. He then penetrated into the Tanjore and Trichinopoly countries, which he put under contribution, and obtained some partial advantages over the Mahrattas. 1690.

Capture of Rairi.

[16] See Appendix, Note 25.

[17] See Appendix, Note 26.

Irregular incursions of the Mahrattas.

The siege of Gingee was still continued, with little activity, and less resistance. The Mahrattas meanwhile overran the whole of the Decan, from the sea to the Nerbuda; and, as the enemy approached, sought shelter among the fastnesses of the mountains. But the dry detail of irregular incursions over such an immense space, and totally unconnected with each other, would be fatiguing and uninteresting to the generality of readers. At the same time we must recollect, that they divided the attention of the Mogul, harassed his troops, and occasioned constant scarcity and frequent famines.

Description of Gingee.

The siege of Gingee was at length seriously undertaken, and Zoolfeçar Khan was reinforced by Dulput Roy, an officer of distinguished conduct and gallantry, who had brought with him a large convoy of treasure and provisions. Gingee is one of the principal places of Hindoo worship; and, like other great Hindoo cities, is adorned with extensive and magnificent buildings. There are two great temples, Seo Gingee and Bishen Gingee, surrounded by walls of a considerable circumference. Within them are innumerable edifices of incredible value. There are also, within and without the city, numerous and splendid temples. The breadth of the town is trifling, having only one street of shops, with the houses and gardens of the inhabitants behind them. The tanks are numerous, faced

with stone, and with steps, descending, for the convenience of the people, from the top to the bottom. Each has a separate name, and a distinct season for bathing in it. The court of Seo Gingee was formed into a citadel, with bastions and battlements, and consequently but thinly inhabited. Bishun Gingee was populous and flourishing, and the resort of an immense number of pilgrims[18]. This city, venerable for its antiquity, and supposed sanctity, was entirely surrounded, and the Mooslims attacked it with a vigour and resolution they have never before manifested. The Mahrattas made several sallies, but were usually beat in with considerable slaughter. At the conclusion of the rains, Suntajee Gorporé, and Dhunagee Jadoo, advanced to the relief of the place. Their horse spread themselves over the country, and cut off the communication between the besieging army and Aurungzeb. The Mogul camp, without intelligence, was soon distracted with a variety of reports; and among others, of the king's death. The consternation which such a report would occasion, can be appreciated only by those who are intimately acquainted with the history of the East. Confusion and alarm pervaded the whole camp: who was to become their master, was the natural question; and would the king's son, then in camp, assert his right to the throne? The prince either

[18] Operations in the Decan.

did, or affected to, believe the report. He entered into a treaty with Rama, and consented to join him; but was prevented from this rash and disgraceful step, by Asud Khan, and his son Zoolfecar Khan. It became no longer safe to remain before an enemy who had seduced the affections and loyalty of the king's son. The guns were burst, and the siege raised with the utmost precipitation. The enemy did not fail to take advantage of so favourable a circumstance; but although Suntajee Gorporé was superior in numbers, his attacks were always repulsed.

Distress of the Moguls.

A general scarcity prevailed, which was but partially relieved by the scanty supplies that were brought in from a great distance. The Mahrattas attacked every party that ventured abroad, and often with great success. But when the Moguls were reduced to the greatest distress, Rama suddenly made offers of peace, which were instantly and
1696. joyfully acceded to by the famished Moguls. They were obliged to abandon the whole of their baggage, as their cattle was either dead, or too much reduced to carry it off the ground. Rama's motives, if he had any, are incomprehensible, for the Moguls had no prospect of succour,
1697. and all in a short time must have perished of famine. The nature of the truce is not known; it however was not lasting, as we find Zoolfecar Khan soon after besieging Vellore, and defeating Dhunajee Jadoo in a general engagement.

Suntajee Gorporé meanwhile had invaded Beejapoor Carnatic, and had surrounded and destroyed Kasim Khan. He was met on his return, and defeated, by Zoolfecar Khan, who had advanced against him from Arcot. These victories were rather splendid than useful; they neither reduced the enemy nor checked his ravages. 1698.

Dissensions among the Mahrattas.

While the enemy threatened their existence, the utmost cordiality prevailed between Dhunajee Jadoo and Suntajee Gorporé: they were no sooner relieved from his attacks than they quarrelled, and Rama with shameful ingratitude joined Dhunajee, in an attack upon the unsuspicious Gorporé. They were defeated, but escaped the punishment they deserved by the murder of Gorporé[19], who fell the victim of female revenge[20], or of the base artifices of Aurungzeb, who joyfully received the acceptable present of his head[21]. These dissensions induced the Moguls once more to besiege Ginjee, which they did with better success, as they soon made themselves masters of a redoubt, which led into the fort, and which they might have easily entered. Rama on this fled to Tanjore, and the whole of its extensive fortifications soon after fell into the hands of the Moguls. 1700.

Capture of Sitara.

The Mahrattas were impatient to revenge the loss they had sustained. A body of fifteen thousand men crossed

[19] See Appendix, Note 27. [20] M. MSS. [21] P. MSS.

the Nerbuda, and ravaged the adjacent country: Rama laid waste the province of Berar, while Ranoo and Hindoo Rao Gorporé spread their devastations over the more southern districts. The emperor either abandoned the provinces to their fate, or contented himself with sending out
1701. small detachments, while with the bulk of his army he in-
1702. vested the fortress of Sitara. It was at length taken, but its capture reflected disgrace, rather than credit, upon his arms; for upon the explosion of two mines, which had been carried under a bastion, three thousand of the Moguls who were in the trenches, by some unaccountable blunder, lost their lives. Such proficients, even at this period, were the Moguls, in the more scientific part of warfare!

Death of Rama and his son.

A fresh change had occurred in the Mahratta empire, but without improving the prospects of the Moguls. Rama, and his son Keerun, had died of the small-pox, and had been succeeded by Seeva, an infant of two years, under the guardianship of Ram Chund Pundit. Aurungzeb, as a step toward an accommodation, released Sahoo, the son of Sambajee, and heir to the government, from confinement, and directed him to enter into a correspondence with the principal persons of his government. But the Mahrattas were not to be duped by the artifices of Aurungzeb: they had discovered the weakness of the em-

pire; the whole of the Decan was under their control; Hindoostan was exposed to their depredations, nor did the royal camp escape from insult. Their demands were deemed unreasonable, and Sahoo was remanded into confinement. Large bodies of the Mahrattas again roamed at large; Ranoo, Dhunajee, and Neema Sindia, ravaged the countries of Beejapoor, Aurungabad, and Malwa, and becoming still bolder, made a general assault upon the imperial camp. They were repulsed; but they some time after succeeded in retaking the strong fortress of Logurh, which they garrisoned, and then levied contributions up to the gates of Hyderabad.

Death and character of Aurungzeb.

Aurungzeb had lived too long. He had beheld a people whom he despised, rise into consequence, and obtain dominion; and instead of being driven from fort to fort, venture boldly into the field, and threaten his personal safety. Subdued both in body and mind, he was seized with a severe fever, and lingering a short time, died in the fifty-first year of his reign. The character of Aurungzeb, or Alumgir, was immortalized in his life-time by the great Dryden, and has been successfully drawn by several historians. Yet, as far as it relates to his operations against the Mahrattas, we shall look in vain for that comprehensiveness of mind, that noble daring, and political address, which distinguished his earlier years. Jealousy and

1707.

bigotry were the characteristic features of his latter years: the first excited the disgust of his servants, while the other procured him the hatred and curses of his most inoffensive subjects.

CHAPTER V.

THE death of Aurungzeb consummated the independence of the Mahrattas. Neither the vigor of his mind, nor the zeal nor bravery of his troops, had been able to suppress this rising power. The Mahrattas, no longer restrained by the apprehension of so powerful a monarch, extended their ravages over the whole of the Decan, and but in a few years, the feeble and dissolute successors of Aurungzeb trembled for their safety in their palaces at Delhi. His vast empire was divided into separate kingdoms, while each noble was more engaged in securing his own fortune, than in repressing the encroachments of a formidable enemy.

Effects of Aurungzeb's death.

Azim Shah, upon the death of his father, proclaimed himself king, and advanced against his brother Shah Alum, who had left Candahar, and secured Delhi, the capital of the empire. The Decan was therefore left entirely defenceless; for Kaum Bukhsh the third son, who had also proclaimed himself king at Beejapoor, was too weak to attempt any thing against the Mahrattas, and might have in-

Dissensions among the brothers.

dulged the hope of procuring their assistance by this seeming forbearance. The Raja Sahoo had for some time been under the charge of Zoolfecar Khan, a nobleman of distinguished conduct and intrepidity, but whose ambition was as boundless, as his avarice was insatiable. As he had connected himself with Azim Shah, who held the Decan of little worth, in comparison with the empire of Hindoostan, he felt no hesitation in consenting, for a large ransom, to the release of the heir to the Mahratta government.

The Mahrattas avail themdisputes.

The dissensions which distracted the Mogul empire, afforded the Mahrattas full leisure for recovering the strongholds that had been wrested from them, by the determined perseverance of Aurungzeb; and for restoring their government to that form, and internal regularity, which it had lost upon the death of its sovereign, and the captivity of its heir. Sahoo, upon his release, had retired into Candesh, where he was joined by Chimnajee Damother, and Pursojee Bhonsla. He was not long without a force: for an army is soon assembled in the East, and of Mahrattas, sooner than any other description of people. But although the undoubted heir to the Mahratta government, he did not find so eager or so welcome a reception, as he might naturally have expected. Tara Bhy, the widow of Ram Raja, had either succeeded to the government, or possessed great influence in its councils; and she was unwilling to resign a

power, she had so long and so successfully enjoyed. She circulated reports of his being an impostor, while Jadoo Rao, by opposing his entrance into the kingdom with an army of forty thousand men, offered a more effectual resistance to his pretensions. Sahoo still advanced, and having crossed the Godaverry, engaged the enemy, whom he defeated with great slaughter. The effects of this victory extended over the whole kingdom. Numbers flocked to his standard, and Jadoo Rao, either distrustful of his force, or convinced of the reality of his claims, submitted to his arms. His march was no longer interrupted, or impeded; the country on either side his route sought his protection, while Sitara the capital of his dominions was seized by surprise[1]. The officers of his state were regularly appointed, and his authority was generally acknowledged throughout the Mahratta empire. Balajee Wiswanath had the entire direction of the army; Byroo Punt had charge of the principal forts, while Purseram Punt was made Pruthee Nidhee or viceroy. Pursojee Bhonsla, who had afforded him such seasonable assistance, was gratified with the office of Sena Sahib Soubah, or commander-in-chief of the Mahratta armies.

Elevation of the present family of the Peshvas.

Notwithstanding Sahoo's success, Tara Bhy still maintained that he was an impostor, and her general or ally,

[1] See Appendix, Note 28.

Canojee Angria, who possessed several strong forts upon the sea-coast, had lately surprised the almost impregnable fortress of Logurh, and had made Byroo Punt prisoner. Sahoo exasperated at his loss, and alarmed lest the contagion of rebellion should spread farther, "looked around him "to discover a fit person to recover his conquered dis-"tricts[2]." His choice, as was natural, fell upon the Pruthee Nudhee, who excused *himself* "as *the army was not* at "his devotion[3]," and thus lost the opportunity of becoming eventually the head of the Mahratta empire[4]. It was then offered to Balajee Wisvunath, who accepted the office, and was invested with the dress of the Mookhya Pradhan, or, as is more familiar to Europeans, with the ensigns of the Peshvaship. The Sahoo's choice could not have fallen more happily; Balajee being a man not only of uncommon talent, but also the intimate friend of Angria, and therefore the more likely to effect an accommodation. With but a slender escort, a proof of his amicable professions, he advanced to Colaba, and was met by Angria. He found little difficulty in persuading him to quit the service of Tara Bhy, and to accept similar appointments under the more stable government of the Sahoo Raja. The captured fortresses were restored, and through the mediation of Balajee, peace

[2] M. MSS. [3] M. MSS.
[4] See Appendix, Note 29.

was concluded with the Sidee, who was no longer subject to the Moguls, but who possessed many towns on the sea-coast, and also the island of Gingerah. Balajee upon his return received many flattering marks of regard and distinction from the Sahoo Raja; nor did he omit any opportunity of conciliating the affections of his sovereign. The gratitude of Edoo Bhy augmented his power and his resources. He had released her son from a long and severe confinement, and she recompensed him with a grant of the strong fortress of Poonadhur, and the district of Poona[5].

Weakness of the Mogul

The dissensions which had prevailed upon the death of Aurungzeb, had not been composed by the succession of Ferokhsir, a prince of weak intellect and abandoned profligacy. The Mahrattas, ever watchful of the dissensions of their neighbours, overran the frontier provinces, and erected a chain of forts upon the high road between Boorhampoor, and the port of Surat. Even at this period Surat was a city of vast importance, being the inlet through which the riches and merchandise of Persia, Arabia, and Europe, passed into India. With Mooslims it acquired additional importance from being the port whence they embarked on their pilgrimages to Mecca. The Mahrattas could not have chosen a more eligible situation for carrying on their preda-

[5] M. MSS.

tory incursions. Issuing from their strong-holds, or fastnesses among the mountains, they surrounded the helpless or timid traveller, and upon his refusing to purchase their forbearance, by the payment of a fourth of his property, the whole was usually plundered, and his person confined until he could purchase his liberty by the payment of an immoderate ransom.

Appointment of a viceroy for the Decan.

The government of Delhi, though nominally possessed by Ferokhsir, was virtually in the hands of the two Syeds of Barha; the elder was minister, and the other had lately, with the title of Ameer ool Oomra, been appointed viceroy of the Decan. His first attempt was to destroy the strong-holds of the Mahrattas, but he was soon diverted from his design by the distracted state of the imperial government. Ferokhsir, incapable of governing, and indebted for his throne to the two brothers, had long been impatient of their controul; and as he had succeeded in separating them, he hoped to compass their destruction, with greater ease, and security to himself. Orders were sent into the Decan to resist his authority, and the Raja Sahoo even was invited to invade the districts which had submitted to his authority[6]. So infatuated was this wretched prince as to prefer the gratification of a pitiful revenge, to the safety and undisputed

[6] P. MSS.

dominion of his empire; a degree of folly which might astonish us, if the history of the East did not abound with similar instances of puerile passion and intemperate revenge.

Cedes the chout and desmookhee.

The Ameer ool Oomra upon the discovery consented to the payment of the *chout* or fourth of the revenues, and also to a *desmookhee* or tenth. He also agreed to the residence of an officer at Arungabad to receive the *chout*, and to the appointment of collectors in the districts for the purpose of obtaining the *desmookhee*. Thus was established what the Mahrattas had so long and so bravely asserted, their claim to the lands of the Decan; and which during the life-time of Aurungzeb they would have resigned for a tenth of its annual produce. But that prince scorned to admit a claim subversive of his own authority; and it remained for his weak and dissolute successors, to sanction a treaty, utterly incompatible with the honour and safety of the Mooslim government.

He returns to Delhi.

These concessions of the Ameer ool Oomra procured him some repose; but he was soon aroused from his imaginary ease by intelligence from his brother, who entreated him to return, and protect him from the intrigues of Morad Khan. This man was by birth a Cashmirian, and a native of the same place with the king's mother. Ferokhsir loaded

him with presents and honours, but the infamy of the man's character affected that of his weak master, exposing it to the vilest suspicions. Such was the inseparable companion of Ferokhsir; nor were his vices extenuated by a single virtue, for though ambitious he was mean and cowardly. The Ameer ool Oomra determined to wreak his vengeance upon a prince who seemed bent on his own, and his brother's ruin. And that he might do so the more effectually, he received, with vast state and respect, a youth called Moin ood Deen, who had been sent to him by Raja Sahoo, as the son of the unfortunate prince Akbar. His movements, which were watched with the most anxious inquietude, spread a universal consternation throughout the empire. The favourite no longer aspired to the office of minister, while the infatuated Ferokhsir waited in dreadful suspense the approach of an enemy, he wanted rather the courage than the force to resist.

Accompanied by a large army of Mahrattas.

He was accompanied by a large body of Mahrattas under Balajee, whose co-operation he had purchased, by the cession of several strong-holds he was unable to garrison. The Ameer ool Oomra marched with the utmost expedition to Delhi, and upon his arrival, Ferokhsir was deposed and murdered. The Mahrattas had full leisure to contemplate the weakness of an empire, which habitual subjection and prejudice had taught them to reverence and

respect.[7] They received from the young king a confirmation of their grant to a fourth and tenth of the revenues of the Decan, so anxious were they to obtain an authority for that which they pretended was an indefeasible right. Balajee returned with increase of fame, and, what was more efficacious, great increase of riches, as he had distributed among his troops half only of what he had received[8]. Upon his death, which occurred soon after, he was succeeded by his son Bajee Rao Butal in the office of Peshva, and from this period, or possibly before it, may be dated the paramount authority of the Peshvas. Bajee Rao commenced his government by an attack upon the Dhabarya of Tulegon; an officer of considerable rank in the Mahratta state, but who had long been upon ill terms with the family of the Peshva. His opposition to Bajee Rao, and his connexion with the Moguls, were sufficient reasons for his ruin: he was attacked and killed, and his family is now sunk into neglect and contempt.

Farther conquests of the Mahrattas.

The Mahrattas having possessed themselves of the finest portion of the Decan, and established their right to almost an equal share of the whole of its revenues, no longer confined themselves to the country lying south of the Nerbuda. Malva and Guzerat were entirely overrun,

[7] See Appendix, Note 30. [8] M. MSS.

1730. and upon the death of Dia Buhadur, who fell gallantly fighting in defence of his charge, both of these provinces
1732. were annexed to the Mahratta state. Their incursions soon extended farther, for the next year we find them plundering in the neighbourhood of Agra, and seizing upon districts appropriated to the use of the royal household.

Repulsed before Gingerah.

But however successful they might be in these irregular incursions, they were less fortunate in their regular attacks upon the Sidee, on the sea-coast. Gingerah, since the time of Sevajee, had been a place most anxiously coveted by the Mahrattas; but although their attacks had been carried on with great ardour and bravery, they had always retired with discomfiture and disgrace. Nor was Bajee Rao more fortunate, though treachery offered more certain means of success. Yacob Khan, having quarrelled with Shaickjee, one of his officers; a bribe of five thousand pounds was offered him to deliver up Rajpoor, a town opposite the island of Gingerah. Yacob Khan died during this intrigue, and was succeeded by his eldest son, who was soon after assassinated by one of his servants, who seized the island. Sidee Abdool the next heir had been taken prisoner by Bajee Rao, and he was glad to purchase his release by the cession of Raegurh, and other strong-holds which had been taken from the Mahrattas.

This affair was scarcely settled before Bajee Rao was called to the assistance of Manajee Angria; who had been driven from Colaba by his relation Sambajee. The assistance was promptly afforded, and led to events which were as advantageous as unexpected. Bajee Rao upon his return from Colaba received pressing invitations from some insurgents at Tannah, upon the island of Salsette, and which at that time belonged to the Portuguese. The Mahrattas have ever seized all opportunities of interference in the affairs of their neighbours; deriving great advantage from their insidious professions of friendship. They soon subdued Tannah, and then encamped with a large force at Gogradada. Here they received a friendly admonition from the English to abandon their conquest; advice dictated rather from fear of such troublesome neighbours, than from any regard to the interests of the Portuguese. But Bajee Rao thought little of the Portuguese, and instead of abandoning prepared to defend his conquests. A body of predatory horse was detached to ravage the country round Goa, while his brother Chimnajee, and Ranojee Sindia, laid siege to the fortress of Basseen.

Invade the possessions of the Portuguese.

The Portuguese, who had so nobly distinguished themselves a century before, had lost their original character, and had become the victims of an intolerant superstition and a luxurious sloth. They did not however suffer this attack to

Take Basseen.

pass over without resistance; they were repulsed from Tannah by an unexperienced enemy, with loss and disgrace. The siege of Bajeen meanwhile was continued, and though Bajee Rao was anxious to join the emperor, whose dominions were threatened by Nadir Shah, his brother saw the importance and value of this beautiful island, and refused to suspend his operations. A mine was run under one of the bastions, and the Portuguese being greatly reduced, and despairing of succour, surrendered the fort after a gallant and prolonged resistance. Chimnajee immediately appointed the necessary officers and garrisons for the conquered districts, and returned to Poona, with the loss of fourteen thousand men[9]: an immense loss if we consider the nature of Mahratta warfare, and the smallness of the Portuguese force.

Ravage Hindoostan.

The Mahrattas were not solely employed upon the sea-coast. Their incursions extended over the country between the Jumna and Ganges; and their plundering-parties insulted the capital of the empire. Mulhar Rao Holkar, the son of Dungur Holkar, by birth a shepherd, and who had risen from this humble walk, to situations of power and trust, was the principal person employed upon these predatory incursions. He was at length overtaken and de-

[9] M. MSS.

feated by the Soubahdar of Oude, and obliged to fly to Guwalior, where he was joined by Bajee Rao. Here they collected their forces, and making a rapid march surprised Delhi. They were unable from a want of artillery to subdue the capital, but succeeded in destroying the suburbs of this once magnificent city. The emperor alarmed for his safety, and willing to purchase the forbearance of a powerful enemy by any concession, joyfully acceded to the payment of the chout, and thus became a tributary of the Mahratta state. 1735.

Chimnajee had not been idle during his brother's absence. He was once more called to the relief of Colaba, and, as usual, received various assignments of lands as a remuneration for his services. This success was imbittered by the death of his brother upon the banks of the Nerbuda, who bequeathed the Peshvaship as an hereditary office to his son Balajee Bajee Rao. Death of Bajee Rao.

The operations of the Mahrattas become so complicated, and their conquests so extensive, as to defy a strict adherence to a chronological series of events. I shall therefore briefly detail their subjugation of Berar, of Malwa, and Guzerat, and their irruptions into Bengal, which were either undertaken or completed at this period.

I. The conquest of Goandwara had been completed by Conquest of Berar.

Dilel Khan, who carried the Raja to Delhi, and who, upon turning Mooslim, received the title of king with the surname of Bukht Buland. Restored to his kingdom he successfully resisted Ragojee Bhonsla, who had received a commission from his relation the Raja Sahoo to conquer the province of Berar. But the noble efforts which he had made to secure the independence of his kingdom, were at his death rendered unavailing by the quarrels of his two sons. Ragojee was called in to the assistance of Boorhan Shah, who eventually became a pageant in the hands of the crafty Mahratta, who affected to govern in the name of the deposed king. The family, if any remain, reside at Rutunpore, and such was the confidence reposed in their honour, that the late Moodajee was accustomed to commit his women and family to their protection[10]. The conquest of Cutak, which followed some years after, will be related in another place. Ragojee's possessions were divided between his four sons;
1772. the pre-eminence however being vested in Janojee. Upon his death, Sabajee was invested with the government, and was opposed by Moodajee, who was defeated and surrounded by the troops of his rival. Sabajee came to him, and tauntingly condoled at his fallen hopes; when Moodajee, enraged at his remarks, discharged a pistol at him, and killed him on the spot[11]. The murder of his rival left the

[10] Leckie's Journal. [11] M. MSS.

kingdom without an heir, and he quietly ascended the vacant throne[12]. 1774.

II. The conquest of Malwa was principally effected by the intrigues of the crafty Nizam ool Moolk. Anxious to divert the royal armies from being employed against himself, he excited Bajee Rao to overrun the whole of Malwa. The Mahrattas seldom refused such invitations; but their incursions were controlled by the bravery of Raja Gudir, and his relation Dia Buhadur. Upon his death, the Mahrattas were more successful, and the subjugation of Malwa was at length acknowledged, by the appointment of Bajee Rao to the viceroyalty of that province. Conquest of Malwa. 1730. 1732.

The conquest of Guzerat demands a more minute narrative, as it is still held by the family of the conqueror, and our intimate ally. Pilajee Guickwar, the founder of the family, was an officer in the service of the widow of the Dhabarya of Tulegom: he invaded Guzerat in 1726 and 1730, and, aided by Ahmed Khan, succeeded in destroying Sujeet Khan. The Moguls with their customary pusillanimity endeavoured to purchase the forbearance of the Mahrattas, by the cession of one half of Guzerat to Umma Bhy. Upon the death of her sons, she adopted her successful Of Guzerat.

[12] See Appendix, Note 31.

general Pilajee, who received a confirmation of the grant from the Sahoo Raja, with the title of Sena Khas Khyl Shumsher Buhadur. Baroda fell in 1731, and soon after
1732. the city of Ahmedabad. Upon the death of Pilajee, his son Damajee succeeded to the government; but taking part with the Dhabarya, who as we have seen was defeated and slain by Bajee Rao, he was taken prisoner, and obliged to purchase his liberty at the enormous ransom of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Damajee received a grant for a moiety of Guzarat, upon the condition of acknowledging the sovereign authority of the Peshva, and paying sixty thousand pounds a year, and maintaining a body of ten thousand cavalry. On his death, Futeh Singh succeeded to the government, and successfully resisted the attacks of his half-brother Govend Rao[13].

Invasion of Bengal.

III. The concessions of the Emperor had exposed all the provinces to the exactions of the Mahrattas; and Bengal, as the richest and least formidable, was eagerly grasped at by the Peshva, and Ragojee Bhonsla, whose situation afforded him better opportunities of prosecuting his schemes of conquest. Ali Verdy Khan, a Tartar of obscure birth, but of excellent talents, had succeeded to the government of Bengal, by the deposal of Surfuraz Khan, the son of his

[13] See Appendix, Note 32.

patron and protector[14]. His views were scarce crowned with success, before the province was invaded by a large body of Mahrattas, excited to the undertaking by the crafty Nizam ool Moolk. His resistance was gallant and far exceeded his apparent means; but he must have been subdued by superior numbers, if he had not resorted to treachery and assassination: a resource which habit rendered familiar, and a false religion authorised. Baskur Pundit the Mahratta general was deluded into an interview, and fell a victim to the superior cunning and villany of the successful Ali Verdy Khan. 1559.

But this treachery did not remain long unpunished. The Mahrattas of Poona and Berar might contend to avenge the murder: but the riches of Bengal and its fertile plains were probably the strongest inducements for attack. Balajee Bajee Rao, and Ragojee, invaded the province at two opposite quarters. Ali Verdy Khan had felt the necessity of fortifying the Secragully pass; and he trusted that Balajee Bajee Rao would not penetrate the pass without great interruption and considerable loss. But the genius of Balajee overcame the difficulty. A peasant was discovered, who, for a reward of ten thousand pounds, agreed to conduct his army through a pass in the Colgon hills. He executed Conquests.

[14] Orme.

his promise, and in six days, to use an expressive epithet, landed the Mahrattas in the plains of Rajmahl[15]. Ali Verdy Khan had naturally conceived that Balajee intended to trace the footsteps of Baskur Pundit, who invaded Bengal through Bierbhoom. His consternation was extreme when he found that Balajee had entered Bengal by an unknown pass, and had formed a junction with Ragojee in the district
17 March, 1743. of Burdwan. Here the plan of the campaign was concerted; but a mutual animosity, the seeds of which had been long sown, broke out between these rival chieftains, and saved the nabob from inevitable ruin. The Peshva affected to consider the chieftain of Berar, as a subject and officer of the Sahoo Raja while Ragojee was unwilling to acknowledge the submission which the other demanded as the delegate of the secluded monarch. The division of plunder was another subject of contention, and the nabob found but little difficulty in purchasing a peace from Balajee, who retired with the money he had received, leaving Ragojee to
April 1743. carry on the war, and revenge the murder of Baskur Pundit. Ragojee was intimidated at the desertion of his ally, and cautiously eluded the nabob's skilful attempts to bring on a general action. A predatory warfare was carried on for several years; Ragojee being assisted by large reinforcements of Mahrattas, allured to his standard by the booty

[15] Holwell.

obtained by the first invaders. Ali Verdy Khan at length yielded to the miseries of his subjects, and consented to pay the annual tribute of twelve thousand pounds, and to cede all Orissa, south of Cutak. The English settled at Calcutta suffered but little from the predatory incursions of the Mahrattas, although a party was encamped within a short distance of Tanna's fort, near the English settlement of Fort William[16]. They however commenced on forming a ditch for their security, and which is no farther remarkable, than as the limits of the jurisdiction of the supreme court. 1750.

State of the Moguls.

We must now direct our attention to the Moguls, whose situation became hourly more deplorable, while the Mahrattas rose upon the ruins of the dismembered empire. Nadir Shah had invaded and plundered Delhi: the nabobs of Oude and Bengal had thrown off the mask of obedience, while the great Nizam ool Moolk had left an independent kingdom to his son Nasir Jung. Lahore was threatened and finally subdued by the Abdali, while Sufder Jung, a Persian adventurer, held the reins of the reduced and exhausted kingdoms. The Mahrattas, although divided into parties, for their empire was tracing the footsteps of all eastern monarchies, were never inattentive to the dis- 1739.

[16] Holwell.

sensions of their neighbours. Either separately or in a general confederation, they attacked the distracted Moguls; and whatever partial defeats they might sustain, the result was invariably favourable to their aggrandisement.

Discovery of Raja Ram Raja, and death of Sahoo.

Neither the Sahoo Raja nor his brother Sambha had children; Ram Raja however had left two sons, Seeva and Sambha. The elder succeeded, as we have seen, to the government upon the capture of Sahoo Raja. On his release and accession to the throne, these young men had disappeared, and little if any thing was known of their history. Seeva dying, left a son called Raja Ram Raja, who was confided to the care of a learned Bramin at Tooljapoor. Upon the death of his guardian, he incautiously revealed his birth, and was soon after conveyed to the house of one of the Nimbhalkurs, a family of rank and importance. This extraordinary story soon spread, and came to the knowledge of Raja Sahoo, who being ill, and anxious to leave his kingdom to a descendant of the great Sevajee, ordered an immediate investigation of the young man's
1749. pretensions. He died before it was completed, and Balajee Bajee Rao, either convinced of the legitimacy of his birth, or willing to promote a pageant to the empire, sent a large force to escort him to Sitara, where he was proclaimed the nominal sovereign of the Mahratta empire. Sambha, the brother of Sahoo, was allowed to adopt a child, and the fort

of Parnala, with the adjacent country, was given to him in appanage. Hence sprung the family of the Raja of Colapore, the legal heirs to the throne of Sitara.

Our attention is now forcibly arrested by the revolutions which successively took place at the court of Hyderabad. The Mahrattas were not the principal characters, but they did not fail to interfere in disputes which opened to them fresh opportunities of plunder and aggrandisement. Nasir Jung being murdered through the intrigues of the French, and a conspiracy of his nobles, was succeeded by Moozufur Jung, who soon after fell a victim of the disappointed ambition of the Pitan nabobs of Cudapa and Canoul. Sulabur Jung, at the recommendation of the celebrated M. Bussy, succeeded to the government: so great was the influence of the French, and such the apprehension of a body not exceeding five hundred Europeans. Gazyood Deen, the elder brother, had either preferred his office of generalissimo of the empire, or was distrustful of his ability to subdue his brother Nasir Jung. The last is the more probable; for, upon his brother's death, he consented to pay large arrears of tribute to Holkar and Sindia, who at this period threatened Delhi. Under their protection he commenced his march; and although Balajee disapproved of Holkar's proceedings, he yet assembled an army of forty thousand horse for their assistance, but was bought off by the

Revolutions at Hyderabad.

1750.

1751.

payment of twelve thousand pounds[17]. The truce, however,
Oct. 1752. was of short duration: for upon the arrival of Gazyood Deen at Arungabad, Balajee and Ragojee Bhonsla entered the Hyderabad territory with an army of one hundred thousand men. Their intentions of affording aid to Gazyood Deen, if they really held them, were frustrated by his sudden death, and by poison given him by his own mother[18]. The Mahrattas, however, carried on the war, but were unable to effect any thing against the artillery and discipline of the French corps in the service of Sulabut Jung. Their incursions destroyed the country, and the nabob was glad to conclude a peace by the cession of several districts in
1753. the vicinity of Boorhanpoor.

Invasion of the Carnatic.

The Mahrattas availed themselves of this short peace to establish their claims south of the Kistna. The details of their operations are unfortunately not preserved, but we know that Harponelly Chitledroog Bedenore, Savanore, and Seringapatam, submitted to their exactions[19].

Rise of Nizam Ali Khan. 1750.

Nizam Ali, the fourth son of Nizam ool Moolk, of obscure birth, now rose into notice. He was removed from the soft luxury of the seraglio at the age of twenty-three, and soon, by his intrepidity and art, took the lead in his

[17] M. MSS. [18] Orme. [19] See Appendix, Note 33.

brother's court. The Mahrattas, who embroiled themselves in every intrigue, espoused his cause against the French, and in the true spirit of their policy accepted presents from M. Bussy, and allowed him to escape the misery of famine. The following year they attacked the Nizam, but were unable to prevent him from relieving Synd Kair. An engagement soon after ensued, and the victory, if it can be called such, was claimed by either party. The Nizam however advanced to the Godaverry, when Balajee sought and obtained peace[20]. But the Nizam's prosperity was soon overcast by clouds which had been gathering a long time at a distant part of the kingdom. M. Bussy, upon his reconciliation with Nizam Ali, had retired to Chicacole, upon the sea-coast, where he had assembled all his troops. Upon the pretence of paying his respects to Sulabut Jung, he advanced towards the Godaverry, when Nizam Ali was obliged to submit to the superior ascendancy of this singular character. The Mahrattas were not mere spectators of these intrigues. They watched and followed the steps of the Moguls, but were usually repulsed by the artillery of the French detachment. Still the celerity of their movements prevented resistance or eluded pursuit; while they gained the material point of foraging their troops in an enemy's country. The approach of M. Bussy controlled

[20] P. MSS.

the operations of Balajee; he quietly awaited the result of this extraordinary meeting, and prepared to take advantage of the vanquished party. The superior genius of Europeans was never more conspicuous than at this interview. M. Bussy, with a small, but veteran and disciplined band, approached two hostile armies ten times his number, and at a distance of at least four hundred miles from his resources. We have surpassed our masters, but it was the French who taught us to despise the undisciplined rabble and useless host of Indian armies.

His flight and return.

Nizam Ali, upon the murder of Hyder Jung, M. Bussy's confidential secretary, fled with incredible diligence to Boorhanpoor, and some time after defeated the Mahrattas of Berar in a general engagement. But the events which took place in the Carnatic, soon relieved him from the predominating influence of M. Bussy. He was recalled by the intemperate and jealous Lally, and the French for ever lost the influence they had obtained by the singular judgement, fortitude, and address, of this celebrated officer. Upon the departure of M. Bussy, Nizam Ali returned, and was soon followed by the Mahrattas.

Successful intrigues of the Mahrattas.

Balajee, during these intestine disputes at the court of Hyderabad, had, through the treachery of Kuvee Jung, an officer in the service of the Soubedar, got possession of

the strong fortress of Ahmednugur, and had subdued the forts of Buhadur Gurh and Bourgom. But what was more material, he had seduced Ibrahim Khan Gardee, who commanded a body of disciplined troops, from the service of Nizam Ali. Ibrahim Khan was originally an officer in the service of M. Bussy, whom he deserted, going over with his guns and party to Nizam Ali. The Soubedar, with Nizam Ali, who had the entire control of the government, marched against Balajee, who appeared on the frontier with an army of two hundred thousand Mahrattas. Skirmishes daily occurred between the contending armies, without bringing on a general action. The Mahrattas succeeded however in cutting off a party at Dhahore, which Nizam Ali endeavoured to relieve. He fought his way to Ousa, but on leaving this place, his line fell into confusion, and he was exposed to the repeated and vigorous attacks of the Mahrattas. The Mooslims maintained the action with undaunted bravery, and continued to repulse the enemy until night put an end to the action. The Soubedar, alarmed at his danger, purchased a peace by the cession of the strong forts of Asser and Doulutabad, with the Soubahs of Beejapoor, Boorhanpore, and Candesh, yielding an annual revenue of six or seven hundred thousand pounds. 1760.

Invasion of Mysore.

The Mahrattas were not solely occupied by the Nizam. Gopaul Rauze had marched with an army of ten thousand

foot, and twenty thousand horse, into Mysore, and had carried his ravages up to the gates of Bangalore. The perverse policy of the king and his minister, unwilling to commit the command of the army to Hyder, lest he should abuse their confidence, induced them to offer the sum of fifty lacs of rupees to the Mahratta. But the ambitious patriotism of Hyder persuaded him to break the treaty, and offer the enemy battle. Hyder advanced with ten thousand sepoys well armed, twenty thousand irregulars, five thousand horse, and six field-pieces. The enemy did not decline the challenge, yet although their passions must have been justly excited at the treachery of Hyder, the battle was not decisive. Hyder, however, foiled in his expectations of victory, listened to terms of accommodation, and a treaty was again concluded upon similar conditions. The Mahrattas with unusual faith evacuated their conquests, when Hyder, who knew the adverse state of their affairs, made a deduction of fifteen lacs, to defray the expense of the campaign[21]. They were obliged to submit; and indeed must have acquiesced in terms less beneficial, had Hyder withstood their demands. The cause of this forbearance will be the subject of the following chapter.

[21] Life of Hyder, page 14.

CHAPTER VI.

WE have now deduced the slender thread of events in the Decan to the year 1760: a year fatal to the interests of the Mahrattas, and subversive of their pretensions to universal dominion. It will be necessary to trace their progress from the years 1732 and 1735, when they subdued Malwa and Guzerat, and compelled the emperor to acknowledge their right to the chout of Hindostan. The Mahrattas, not content with the cession of Malwa, had often advanced to Agra, and had established an influence with the officers who ruled in the provinces between the Jumna and Ganges. They were often called in to assist in their disputes; and, indifferent to the success of either party, no cause was too desperate, or claim too unjust, to deter their interference. They seldom marched without large advances, and relied too much on their own strength, to dread the retaliation of the victorious party. In the day of battle they hung aloof, and plundered the defeated party, whether friend or foe. Fresh conquests of the Mahrattas.

Mulhar Rao Holkar was the most distinguished character in advancing the Mahratta conquests. He entered Bunde- Holkar and Ragonath Rao.

land[1], and established posts in the neighbourhood of Agra. The emperor was surprised and defeated, while his women
1753. and family fell into the hands of the victors. But this success was but partial in comparison with the more important actions of Ragonath Rao, who, advancing by Ajmere, plundered Delhi, subdued Lahore and Moultan, nor stopt until he had reached the Kumaoon Hills[2], which separate India from China. The impetuosity of the torrent however was lost in the length of its course. Timoor, the Abdali's son, fled in confusion, and Adina Beg, for a large sum, was invested with the government of Lahore. Ragonath Rao did not stop to regulate the conquered provinces; he committed that duty to Junkojee Sindia, and returned to the Decan, where his reception was less welcome than his services might have demanded[3].

Combination formed against them.

The Mooslims at length saw the necessity of forming a combination against a power which in a few years would inevitably destroy them. But too weak, or too much distracted among themselves, they agreed in demanding assistance from Ahmed Shah Abdali, who, from being an officer in the army of Nadir Shah[4], had risen to the government of Candahar. He gladly acceded to their request, as he was

[1] See Appendix, Note 34.
[2] M. MSS.
[3] Holwell.
[4] Sir William Jones.

exasperated at the attacks of the Mahrattas; and happy of an excuse, to visit once more the devoted city of Delhi.

Mulhar Rao Holkar and Dutajee Sindia, who commanded in the conquered provinces, advanced to meet the Abdali, who had been joined by his Mooslim confederates. The Mahrattas were not intimidated at the vast superiority of the Mooslims; they engaged the Abdali, and were defeated with incredible slaughter. Their camp was soon after surprised, when Jyapa Sindia, who commanded the advanced guard of five thousand men, lost his life with the whole of his party. Mulhar Rao Holkar then crossed the Jumna, writing pressing letters to the Jats, to join him against their common enemy[5]. But the Mahrattas during their tide of prosperity had made little distinction between the Mooslim or Hindoo; their religious appeal was therefore treated with mortifying neglect. The Mahrattas retreat. 1758.

The news of these disasters cast an universal gloom over the Mahratta empire, which had hitherto enjoyed an uninterrupted course of success. Vast preparations were made to resist so formidable a confederacy; the command being confided to Sudasho Bhow, who was accompanied by the Peshva's son, Wiswas Rao. The Mahrattas advanced Preparations of the Mahrattas.

[5] Holkar's letter.

by Gualior to Agra; but as the depth and rapidity of the Jumna would not allow of their crossing over, Sudasheo Bhow moved towards Delhi, and on his march destroyed a large garrison of the Abdali's[6]. The palace at Delhi only offered a resistance; it was soon taken, when Ali Gohur, the eldest son of the king, was raised to the throne. At the conclusion of the rains the Bhow advanced against Runjpoora, which was carried by assault, and the whole of the garrison put to the sword[7]. The Abdali upon this, with characteristic impetuosity, crossed the Jumna, and approached the Mahrattas, who retired in confusion towards Paniput[8]. The Abdali hung upon their rear, and constant skirmishes took place between the two armies. At length the Bhow reached Paniput, and took up his ground close to the town, which he enclosed, as well as his camp, with a trench six feet wide and twelve deep, with a good rampart on which he mounted his cannon[9]. A famine soon ensued in the Abdali's camp, but which was relieved by the conduct of Atai Khan, who, making an almost incredible march, succeeded in destroying the party that intercepted their supplies[10]. This disaster was soon followed by another equally serious. A party of two thousand horse had been sent to

[6] M. MSS. [7] M. MSS. Scott's Decan, Vol. II. 242.
[8] Hist. Decan, Vol. II. [9] M. MSS.
[10] Asiatic Researches, Vol. III.

Delhi to convoy treasure into the Mahratta camp. Upon their return they mistook the road, and entered the Abdali's camp, where they were surrounded, and cut to pieces.

Negotiations.

The natives of India are not deterred from negotiation during the most active season of hostilities. A constant communication had been maintained between the Bhow and the Abdali, principally through the mediation of Suja ood Doula[11]. The Abdali insisted upon the Mahrattas abandoning the whole of their late conquests: while the Bhow proposed the Attock, as the boundary of the Afgan state[12]. Such demands admitted only of an appeal to the sword.

Hostilities continued.

These negotiations had not suspended hostilities. A constant cannonade, and frequent skirmishes, were maintained by the contending armies. Upon the twenty-ninth of November the Mahrattas made a violent assault upon the left of the line, and continued their attack until sun-set, when they retired with the loss of two thousand men. Another action soon followed, and the Mahrattas, under Bulwunt Rao Powar, broke through the troops of Nujeeb-ood Doula[13], and penetrated as far as the ground occupied

1760.

[11] Asiatic Researches, Vol. III. [12] M. MSS.
[13] Asiatic Researches, Vol. III.

by the nabob of Lucknow [14]. In the last charge, which was made late at night, the gallant Powar lost his life, and his troops, as is usual upon the death of their chiefs, retired to their camp. The Mahrattas had in the course of six weeks lost ten thousand men [15], and they were now afflicted with the severest of all calamities, a dreadful famine. To complete their misfortune, twenty thousand of their camp-followers were surprised, and slaughtered by the merciless inhumanity of the Afgans [16].

Negotiations broken off.

The Bhow once more resorted to negotiation; but his concessions were inadequate, or the Abdali was bent on the destruction of a power which had so often threatened the extinction of the Mooslim name. Sudasheo Bhow received the account of the rejection of his overtures, with the utmost calmness [17]. The only resource was victory, and he prepared for action with the resolution of a man determined to conquer or die. Fifty thousand pounds was distributed among his troops, and he exhorted his officers to support the character they had so dearly but so justly obtained [18]. He expressed his alarm for the safety of his nephew, and would have persuaded him to have escaped, but Wiswas Rao refused to abandon that army which had shared his

[14] M. MSS. [15] M. MSS. [16] Asiatic Researches.
[17] M. MSS. [18] M. MSS.

dangers, and earned his glory[19]. The Bhow then addressed a short note to an officer in the service of the nabob of Lucknow: "The cup is full to the brim, and cannot hold "another drop: if any thing can be done, do it, or else tell "me at once; hereafter there will be no time for writing[20]." He despatched the note, and immediately advanced against the enemy.

The Bhow with Wiswas Rao commanded in the centre; Ibrahim Khan Gardi, with the guns and infantry, one of the wings, and Junkojee Sindia the other. The Mahrattas advanced with the utmost regularity; but their numerous cannon were too ill directed to do much mischief. The action was commenced by Ibrahim Khan Gardi, the same person who had been educated in the school of M. Bussy. He was upon ill terms with the Bhow, and was anxious to shew that his troops merited the superior pay they demanded. Seizing a color, he charged with fixed bayonets a body of Rohillas. They stood the charge, and were broken with the loss of seven thousand men[21]. His two battalions which covered his flank, repulsed the enemy as often as he charged. Ibrahim Khan however had suffered severely in this desperate encounter. Six of his ten battalions were entirely de-

Mahrattas defeated. 12 January, 1761.

[19] M. R. Holkar, MSS.
[20] Asiatic Researches.
[21] Asiatic Researches, Vol. III.

stroyed; and what was even of greater moment, he was wounded in several places. The Bhow with Wiswas Rao had charged and broken a body of eighteen thousand men, and had destroyed three thousand of them[22]. Junkojee Sindia, who commanded the left wing, was unable to effect any thing against the enemy; which, however, was counterbalanced by the success of the Bhow and Ibrahim Khan Gardi. Large bodies of the enemy had retired, and commenced a promiscuous plunder in their own camp; and it was now that Ahmed Shah manifested the resources and composure of his mind. His favourite guards were sent to drive them to their duty; several were killed, and fear rather than shame brought them back to their line. The grand vizier was ordered to charge the centre, while Shah Pusund Khan, and Nujeb ood Doula, attacked them in flank. This was often and unsuccessfully repeated. The Mahratta line was unbroken; the Bhow still fought at the head of his troops; when at once, and instantaneously, they gave way, and fled in every direction. The slaughter then became dreadful; neither age nor sex was spared; while the Afgans jestingly observed, that they were desired by their mothers, wives, and relations, to kill some infidels on their account, that "they might have *merit in the sight of* "*God*[23]." Nor did they fail to gratify so inhuman a desire.

12 January, 1761.

[22] Asiatic Researches, Vol. III.

[23] Asiatic Researches.

Pyramids of heads were piled up before their tent-doors, as so many trophies of their valour. Besides Wiswas Rao, and his uncle, Antajee Munkesur, Jeswunt Rao Powar, and several chieftains of distinction, lost their lives in this fatal engagement. Junkojee Sindia, a youth of one-and-twenty, was taken prisoner and murdered; and Ibrahim Khan Garde who had so nobly distinguished himself, was destroyed by poison being infused into his wounds. The loss of the Mahrattas must have amounted from the commencement of the campaign to four hundred thousand men: a number by no means incredible, when we recollect that the followers of an Indian army exceed the troops at least three to one. Few of the fugitives escaped into the Decan, being plundered and murdered by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages where they had fled for refuge. Five hundred elephants, fifty thousand horses, one thousand camels, two hundred thousand oxen, and an immense quantity of baggage, fell into the hands of the victors[24].

Death of the Bhow.

The fate of the Bhow is not exactly known; although it is generally admitted that he was killed by an Afgan, who had pursued him for the jewels he had on his person[25]. His body was recognised by some Hindoos; and, through the political humanity of the nabob of Lucknow, was burnt

[24] Ali Ibrahim Khan. [25] Ali Ibrahim Khan, Asiatic Researches.

agreeably to the ordinances of the Hindoo religion. His nephew, Wiswas Rao, was wounded early in the day, and died on his elephant. Two pretenders started up, asserting themselves to be the Bhow; one even ventured into the Decan, where he was seized and murdered for the imposture; the other, after attracting the notice of the British government,
1784. sunk into obscurity, and died in the district of Goricpore[26].

Effects of the victory.

This victory, so dearly bought, preserved the Mooslims from conquest and subjugation. Had the Mahrattas been successful, the countries possessed by Suja ood Doula, Nujeeb ood Doula, and the Rohillas, would have submitted to the arms of the conquerors. Their depredations would have extended over the whole of Bahar and Bengal; nor is it too great a refinement to suppose that the English would have been restricted to their factories and possessions upon the Ganges and sea-coast. That such was not the result, was the error of their leader, rather than the fault of the Mahratta troops. The Bhow's conduct manifested few of those great abilities he was said to have possessed. He disgusted Suraj Mul, the chief of the Jats, who advised him to leave his heavy baggage behind, and to attack the enemy in the usual style of Mahratta warfare. But the Bhow had seen the efficacy of guns and infantry when commanded by

[26] Ali Ibrahim Khan.

French officers, and relied more upon them, than his numerous cavalry. This was a fatal error; every thing was sacrificed for this useless equipment, and he suffered himself to be cooped up within a narrow line, and to be starved, rather than abandon the useless encumbrance of a heavy train of artillery. Had he adopted the advice of the Jat chieftain, or opposed the enemy's passage of the Jumna, victory might have been his; and even now, it is difficult to account for the universal panic of the Mahrattas. Wiswas Rao, although the principal person in the army, had not the general command. He was wounded early in the action; but the Bhow gallantly headed his troops, nor did he fly until his army had broken and dispersed.

Feelings of the Mahrattas.

The accounts of this dreadful defeat cast a universal gloom over the Mahratta empire. Few families but lamented the loss of their nearest relatives; while the deaths of a son and brother heightened the Peshva's affliction at the public calamity. But the supineness, or the dissensions, of the Mooslims, allowed the Mahrattas time to recover. Balajee recruited his army, and procured fresh equipments, with the intention of making another effort to recover his lost influence. He had proceeded but a short distance towards Hindoostan, when he was seized with a severe illness which compelled him to relinquish his design. He lingered but a short time after his return

to Poona, falling a prey to grief and vexation at the loss of his son, and the fatal termination of his most sanguine
June 11, 1761. hopes. He died after a reign, for so it must be called, of twenty-one years, and was succeeded by his son Mhadoo Rao, a boy of twelve years, under the guardianship of his uncle Ragonath Rao.

State of empire at the Peshva's death.

The Mahratta empire was running the same course as other eastern monarchies. Like a huge building raised on a narrow base, it fell by its own weight. During the administration of the two last Peshvas, the empire had been exposed to the fluctuations of conquest and defeat; fresh families had emerged into notice, obtaining a rank, influence, and power, incompatible with the sovereign authority of the Peshva. The conquest of Guzerat and Berar had raised the families of Guikwar and Bhonsla to authority and independence; and if the former professed a deceitful submission to the commands of the Peshva, the other openly maintained his claims to superiority, grounding them on an alleged relationship with the great Sevajee. Such claims, if true, are too remote to be traced; and the Rája of Berar relied more on his resources and internal strength, than on the indefinite rights of an uncertain affinity with the reigning family. These jarring interests, however, did not prevent frequent coalitions; and Bengal, and the territory of the Nizam, have experienced the

devouring effects of their united armies. These combinations aggravated the latent feuds and animosities which mutual interest had smothered; and the Mahrattas of Poona and Berar beheld each other as rivals, and sometimes as enemies.

Rise of the Holkar family:

During the eventful period of these reigns, Mulharjee *Holkar*, the son of Kundojee Dungur, rose to fortune and independence[27]. When a boy of seven years, and while employed in guarding his sheep, a snake was observed to spread its hood and shade him from the sun. This was reported to his maternal uncle, Naryn Rao Bundé, an officer at the court of the Sahoo Raja, who predicted his future fortunes, and took charge of his education. Soon after he gave his daughter Goutama Bhy in marriage; and, upon his death, the fortunate shepherd succeeded to the estates and rank of his affectionate uncle. The patronage of the great Bajee Rao did not end here; Mulhar Rao was sent with a command to Hindoostan, and received as a reward for his services, the conquered districts between the Jumna and Ganges, with Etawa and Shekohabad. In the disastrous battle of Paniput he commanded five thousand horse, and, by his own account, was ordered to protect the wife of the unfortunate Bhow, with whom he

[27] See Appendix, Note 35.

escaped into the Decan. Mulhar Rao, upon his return, lost his son Kundee Rao, and soon after his grandson, Mahdoo Rao, and was thus deprived of all hope of offspring. By the persuasion of his wife and daughter-in-law, Uhileu Bhy, he adopted his relation Tukojee Holkar, who succeeded him in all the rights and grants which had been lavished on him by the affection or gratitude of the two Peshvas[28].

And of the Sindias.

At the same period the rival family of Sindia[29] obtained influence and dominion. Jyapa, the founder of the family, was a menial but favourite servant of the Peshva Bajee Rao. The versatile genius of a Mahratta qualifies him for all stations; nor did the conduct of Jyapa disgrace the discernment of an affectionate master. He was assassinated by two Marwaries, and was succeeded by his eldest son; and he by his only son Junkojee, who was murdered soon after the battle of Paniput. His uncle Ranojee succeeded to the family estate, and upon his death was succeeded by the great Mahajee Sindia, who contrived to supplant and imprison his elder brother, Kedarjee Sindia, who soon after died in prison, leaving an only son, Anund Rao, the father of the present Doulut Rao Sindia.

Their relation to the Peshva.

Both of these families were indebted for their rise to the

[28] P. MSS.

[29] See Appendix, Note 36.

Peshva; their relation to him was quite different from the chieftains of Berar and Guzerat, who held their authority by grants from the Sahoo Raja. They were the immediate servants of the Peshva, and it was not until late years that either have asserted their independence of the Poona state. The successes of Tukojee Holkar and Mahajee Sindia justified the claim; for in a form of government so complicated as that of the Mahratta empire, and where the prominent feature is marked by injustice, force alone must sanction right.

First usurpation of the Peshva.

It does not appear at what period the Peshvas assumed the entire management and control of the government; it may be justly dated from the period of *Balajee Wisvunath's* expedition against Angria. The Sahoo Raja, either unfit for government, or abandoned to his pleasures, remained at Sitarah, while the Peshva, at Poona, transacted the whole affairs of the state[30]. At first he might have rejoiced at this relief from a vexatious duty, but he must have soon discovered that he was little else than the pageant of an artful minister. The Mahrattas concern themselves but little in the most interesting part of history; they neither attend to dates, nor observe the various stages of a rising or falling monarchy. It is impossible, therefore, to say when the

[30] See Appendix, Note 37.

descendant of the great Sevajee became the pageant he now is; but if Balajee Wisvunath paid some deference to the authority of an indulgent master, it is certain that his son Bajee Rao Bulal assumed all the prerogatives of an independent sovereign.

Constitution.

Unfortunately we expect to find among the barbarous institutions of the East, the same refinement and profound wisdom, which so nobly distinguish the laws of the western hemisphere; and thus expect to discover the motives or causes of rules and ordinances, which were framed on emergent occasions, or resulted from the whims and caprices of a fickle and ignorant tyrant. The constitution of the Mahrattas, as it existed in the time of Balajee, has been assimilated with that of the Germanic body; while the powers of the Peshva have been compared with those of the ancient mayors of France. Comparisons so general, and particularly where the component parts entirely differ, tend only to diffuse error, or conceal ignorance. The first Peshvas maintained their authority over the whole empire, rather by the awe of their abilities, than the efficacy of the constitution. From a Mahratta, it had become a Braminical government; while the chief offices of the state were considered hereditary[31]. The institution of a Pruthee Nedhee,

[31] See Appendix, Note 38.

or viceroy, by Sevajee, led the way to the ruin of his descendants. He was unequal to the charge; his powers were delegated to the Peshva, who thus rose to rank and influence. The Raja experienced the fate which has ever been the result of such measures. His troops no longer looked up to their sovereign, but to his general; and from neglect he sunk into oblivion and confinement. Still popular prejudice respected the descendant of the father of the Mahratta empire. The country round Sitara enjoys a variety of privileges, and no Peshva can act without receiving from him the insignia of his office. Such was the state of the empire upon the death of Balajee: he had extended it from Sera to the Kumaoon hills; and, but for the battle of Paniput, would have been master of the whole country within the range of mountains called the Paropamisus and the sea.

Revenues.

The usurpation of the Peshvas, in a country where empires fall, and fresh states rise on the ruin, neither attracted observation nor excited surprise. Indeed the transition was easy, natural, and progressive. The authority of Balajee Wisvunath was supported by the Sahoo Raja, and confirmed by the enterprise and zeal of his immediate descendants. Under their administration the gigantic plans of the great Sevajee had been carried into effect. He had left a narrow tract of territory four hundred miles in length

and one hundred and twenty in breadth, and this perhaps exaggerated. Their territories now extended from Sera to Shekohabad, including the rich provinces of Guzerat, of Candesh, and Malwa, with Berar down to Cutac. Their right to the chout of the Decan, had been acknowledged by the Soubedar of Hyderabad, and the government of Mysoor, and upon this claim they had grafted others, which in the aggregate amounted to one half of the actual revenue. Under the various heads of *chout*, or *mokassa*, which was twenty-five per cent.; *Sur desmookhee* or 12½, *Sahotra* six, *Babti* three, with the claims of the Raja of Berar for forage and corn; the wretched and devoted inhabitants were oppressed and plundered by the insatiable avarice of the Mahratta state. The revenues of the Decan, a few years ago, were estimated at twenty millions[32]; and if we balance what they did not possess, with their provinces in Hindoostan, their land revenue must have amounted to at least ten millions. Their right to the chout of Hindoostan had also been admitted, while the Raja of Bundelcund had left Bajee Rao one third of his possession, upon the condition of his supporting his two sons in the exercise of their authority.

These great acquisitions naturally obtained the first

[32] See Appendix, Note 39.

Peshvas the gratitude and submission of their Mahratta subjects. They were assisted and abetted in their designs by the Bramins, who naturally preferred a prince of their own class to a Mahratta, whom they must have despised. The Bramins are not, as idly supposed, devoted to the profession of priests; they embark in most of the concerns of trade; some even follow the profession of arms, and all are distinguished by superior education, and consequently superior manners. Respected or reverenced by the inferior classes of Hindoos, their countenance and support would have subdued any difficulties which might have opposed the usurpation of the Peshvas; but no obstacles were to be surmounted; no loyalty to be disarmed, or patriotism to be dazzled by the false glare of lucrative office.

CHAPTER VII.

Accession of Mhadoo Rao, and appearance of the pretended Bhow. 1761.

MHADOO Rao succeeded his father in the office of Peshva, receiving the customary dresses and presents from his degraded sovereign. The youth and inexperience of Mhadoo Rao required the assistance of his uncle's more mature abilities, who, under the humble title of Dewan, directed the complicated machinery of the Mahratta government. The commencement of an eastern reign is usually ushered in by internal tumults and sedition; or by the aggressions of a neighbouring power. The repose of the new reign was interrupted by the appearance of a man before Jhansi, who declared himself to be the unfortunate Bhow, and who contrived to persuade the commandant of that fortress of the reality of his claims. Here he assembled a small force, with a camp-equipment, collecting the revenues in the vicinity of his encampment. He still complained of a wound he had received on his face, which he said was open, and thus accounted for the precaution he used of concealing one half of his face. The claims, or rather the success, of the impostor, induced the government of Poona

to send spies to unravel the deception, and this they soon effected[1].

Mulhar Rao Holkar, on his march towards Hindoostan, encamped within a short distance of the impostor, and soon discovered the imposition, but was afraid to punish him, lest the widow of the Bhow should imagine that it might have been her husband. Holkar seized him, and sent him to Poona, and the same feelings of respect for the Bhow's widow operating upon Mhadoo Rao, he was confined in a hill fort, and thence conveyed to the island of Colabar. Upon the murder of Naryn Rao he made his escape, and the distracted state of the country soon brought followers to his standard. But Mahajee Sindia, being in the neighbourhood, marched against him, and took him prisoner as he was attempting his escape in a boat. He was conveyed to Poona, and, to satisfy all doubts, was exposed on the back of a camel to the whole city, and then put to death[2]. The impostor seized and sent to Poona.

Before I enter upon a relation of the wars between the Mahrattas and the Nizam, I must lament the difficulty which I have to surmount in reducing the preposterous accounts of the Persian historian within the bounds of Difficulty of extracting truth from Asiatic historians.

[1] Ali Ibrahim Khan.

[2] Ali Ibrahim Khan.

truth or even probability. The notoriety of facts does not deter an eastern historian from relating the most palpable falsehoods. His endeavour is to please his patron; and if truth seldom offends the ears of princes in the West, how infinitely less so does it in an eastern hemisphere[3]! Oppressed by contending authorities, I shall endeavour to correct the luscious sweets of the historian of the Nizam, with the mild acids of the Mahratta annals.

Aggressions of the Nizam.

The Nizam, soon after the accession of Mhadoo Rao, marched as he asserts to chastise the aggressions of his uncle Ragonath Rao[4]; or, what is more probable, to take advantage of the unsettled state of the Mahratta empire[5]. He was opposed by the Mahrattas on the banks of the Godaverry, which, however, did not prevent him from crossing that river. The Mahrattas endeavoured to check his march, but were repulsed in all their attacks; nor could they prevent the enemy from penetrating within a short distance of Poona[6]. Ragonath Rao then resorted to the more effectual means of intrigue, and the Nizam was arrested in his victorious course, and compelled to retreat, by the defection of his younger brother, who deserted over to the enemy.

[3] See Appendix, Note 40. [4] P. MSS. [5] Ali Ibrahim Khan.
[6] Mr. Hollingberry's Hist. Nizam, page 33.

The following year Mhadoo Rao marched into the Carnatic, and carried his ravages as far as Sera. Upon his return, the distrust and jealousy which subsisted between the uncle and nephew, broke out into an open rupture, and Ragonath Rao was glad to make his escape with a few attendants to Nassuck. Here he collected his followers, and returning again to Poona, attacked and defeated Mhadoo Rao, and made him prisoner. Ragonath Rao was content to enjoy the sovereign authority, without the odium of supplanting his brother's son, who was again reinstated on the throne, and sent to Poona. These dissensions were scarcely composed before the Mahratta territory was invaded by the Nizam and Janojee Bhonsla, who had espoused the cause of Gopal Hurry Pulwurdhun. They advanced directly to Poona, an open and defenceless town, which they sacked and destroyed; while Mhadoo Rao, and his uncle, who had been repulsed before Arungabad, carried their ravages up to the walls of the enemy's capital. The Nizam on his return crossed the Godaverry at Rakisborn, leaving his army on the western bank. Mhadoo Rao, receiving intelligence of this, and eager to avenge himself upon the destroyers of his capital, made forced marches, attacked his army under the command of his Dewan, whom he defeated, and slew and pursued the fugitives up to the gates of Arungabad. Upon his return he rebuilt the city of Poona; but, either from policy or

Invasion of the Carnatic. 1762.

Nizam sacks Poona.

caprice, abandoned the design of surrounding it with a high and strong wall.

Rise of Hyder Nack.

The irregular incursions of the Mahrattas into the Carnatic were now checked by the rise of a man, who united the talents of an able general with the wary cunning of an eastern politician. Hyder, the future scourge of our venality and corruption, opposed their exactions, and defeated their armies. But Mhadoo Rao, reinforced by Hindoo Rao Gorporé, and the Nabob of Savanore, attacked and took Darwar. He then advanced upon the invitation of some discontented nobles against Bedenore, defeating Hyder, who marched to its relief in three successive engagements. Hyder was at length obliged to take advantage of the woody country in his rear, and to entrench himself in a strong position. Here he continued almost a year, frequently attacked by the enemy, whom he always repulsed. Mhadoo Rao at length became weary of so ineffectual a struggle, and, upon Hyder's paying a large contribution, tacitly abandoned Bednore to the indignation of the aspiring Mooslim.

Again invades the Carnatic. 1764.

After the celebration of the Dessara, Mhadoo Rao invaded the Carnatic, while his uncle, Ragonath Rao, directed his arms against Hindoostan. Mhadoo Rao's incursion was rapid and successful. He took Sera, Mudgee-

ree, Cheenroydroog, and threatened Arcot, but was bought off by the presents of our ally, the Nabob of the Carnatic. Not so Ragonath Rao. He besieged Gohud, a fortress founded by Rama Chutur Singh. He was supported in the defence of his fortress by assurances from Mhadoo Rao that no succour should reach the besiegers from the Decan. After a year's fruitless perseverance, Ragonath Rao, greatly indebted to his troops, was compelled to raise the siege. He returned to Nassuck, and was visited by his nephew, who affected to condole with him at the disappointment of those hopes which he had frustrated. The enmity which had been rather smothered than extinguished, broke out with fresh violence, upon Ragonath Rao's adopting a son, whom he called Amrut Rao[7]. His nephew immediately marched against him, and Ragonath Rao, abandoned by his followers, after an ineffectual defence of the fort of Dhoorub, was compelled to throw himself on the mercy of his nephew. Mhadoo Rao received him with the utmost respect: apartments and attendants were appointed for him at the palace; but under this disguise, Ragonath Rao soon discovered that the palace was his prison, and the attendants his keepers[8].

Confinement of Ragonath Rao.

The attention of Mhadoo Rao was solely directed to the prosecution of his conquests in the Carnatic. He advanced

Invasion of Mysore, and defeat of Hyder. 1767.

[7] See Appendix, Note 41.

[8] Ali Ibrahim Khan.

to the neighbourhood of Niglug, which he took, and there left a large force under his maternal uncle, Trimbuc Rao Mama, to prosecute his conquests. Trimbuc Rao was at the head of an army of sixty thousand horse, twenty thousand infantry, and a few field-pieces; nor did he allow so large a force to remain inactive. As he marched through Mysore, for Hyder was too weak to oppose him, he secured every fort but Bangalore; and, as is usual with the Mahrattas, ruin and destruction marked their route. Hyder, unable to stem this torrent of destruction, entrenched himself within a few miles of his capital Seringapatam. His army consisted of eight thousand choice cavalry, thirteen thousand regular infantry, and a well-appointed train of artillery. Here he watched every opportunity of falling on the Mahratta cavalry; and he often revenged himself for the outrages they committed. Morari Rao, so celebrated in the early history of the English in India, persuaded the Mahratta general to push on some detachments near Seringapatam, in the hope of enticing Hyder from his intrenched situation. It succeeded to his wish: the wary Hyder was thrown off his guard, and at length was drawn to a considerable distance from his capital, whence he obtained his supplies. The Mahrattas immediately interposed a large body of cavalry, while the main army hovered round his front, so that he could not move without being discovered. Hyder soon perceived his error, and was com-

pelled to the hazard of a retreat before a powerful and elated enemy. He began it at midnight, pursued by the Mahrattas, who made constant and resolute charges on his line. Unfortunately for Hyder, a large rock stood at some distance in the plain, and the infantry, in spite of the reproaches and commands of Hyder, advanced precipitately towards it: the column soon became open, while the rear, even at a run, could not keep pace with their rash companions. The Mahrattas saw, and profited by, the confusion; the whole body charged, and in a few minutes Hyder's army was annihilated. He escaped with a few attendants into Seringapatam. The Mahrattas had destroyed thirteen thousand veteran infantry, had taken all Hyder's guns, baggage, and camp-equipage, yet were unable to prosecute the siege with any hope of success. In this distress they applied to Mr. Dupré, the governor of Madras; and on his refusal rested the fate of Hyder Ally. The ravages of the Mahrattas have often punished themselves. Hyder was in some measure indebted for his escape to the excesses of his enemy. A famine, the consequence of their destructive habits, prevailed in their camp, and despairing of assistance from Madras, they were obliged to abandon their prey, when they had driven it into their toils[9]. Hyder, restored to liberty, soon retrieved

[9] Life of Hyder, 33.

his fallen fortunes, and but in a short time became more
1768. formidable than ever.

Submission of the Raja of Berar.

Mhadoo Rao had not suffered the treachery of Janojee Bhonsla to escape punishment. He invaded and overran the whole of Berar without any effort being made by Janojee to oppose his destructive progress. Chased from place to place, Janojee at length sued for peace, made an offering of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds[10], and agreed to furnish his proportion of troops whenever they were required[11].

Reduced situation of the emperor.

The remainder of Mhadoo Rao's life, which lasted three years, was lingered out amid the lassitude of slow disease. His generals and chiefs, who acknowledged his authority, had not been inactive. Holkar and Mahajee Sindia, after defeating Nujeeb Khan, and his son Zabita Khan, crossed the Ganges, and plundered Furicabad. Under their auspices the wretched and treacherous representative of the house of Timoor marched to Delhi, and was seated on the
1771. throne of his ancestors. But he had soon reason to regret the rash step he had taken. The Mahrattas were indifferent or neglectful of his interests; and having extorted from the miserable king all his wealth, basely sold, to Za-

[10] Ali Ibrahim Khan.

[11] Asiatic Annual Register, 1801.

bita Khan, the districts which Shah Alum had purchased. 1772.
But not content with this iniquity, they insisted on Shah Alum's reinstating Zabita Khan in his former situation, and marched for that purpose against Delhi. The gallant Nujeeb Khan was defeated, and the devoted Shah Alum, after undergoing various indignities, was reinstated on the throne by the Mahratta generals. Various grants of lands were assigned the Mahrattas, and, among others, the districts of Corah and Jhabad[12], which however, being defended by the English, the Mahrattas were afraid to attack.

Mhadoo Rao finished an active reign of twelve years at Tihoor, near Poona, and was accompanied to the funeral pile by his deluded wife, Rama Bhy, who voluntarily resigned a life of comfort and ease, for the merit and reward which a humane religion, as it is preposterously called, persuaded her to expect[13]. Mhadoo Rao, a short time before his death had released Ragonath Rao, and had confided his brother to his care and protection. Ragonath Rao promised it, in the most solemn manner; giving a small stone, worshipped as a Mahdeo, into the hands of his dying nephew as a pledge of the sincerity of his intentions. How religiously he kept his promise, the events of a few months will demonstrate.

Death of the Peshva. Nov. 1772.

[12] See Appendix, Note 42.

[13] See Appendix, Note 43.

Accession of Naryn Rao.

Naryn Rao succeeded his brother, and as usual received the requisite dresses from the imaginary head of the Mahratta empire. Upon his return from Nassuck, where he had been to visit Goseeka Bhy, Ragonath Rao was again confined, but whether at the advice of his mother, or upon the discovery of some fresh treachery, is doubtful. The youth and inexperience of Naryn Rao did not prevent his forming the wisest and most politic plans for the comfort of his people. The plan of a bridge, of a watercourse, of new markets, and of a wall round the city, was arrested by the intrigues of his treacherous uncle.

Intrigues of his uncle, and murder of Naryn Rao.

Ragonath Rao, since his confinement, had not been idle. Sumer Singh, who commanded the regular guards, with Mahomed Eusuf, had been seduced, and the plot for the destruction of Naryn Rao was now matured and ripe for execution. The conspiracy, however, was not unknown to Naryn Rao. He had ordered Hury Punt to discover its abettors; and which, coming to the knowledge of the conspirators, determined them to anticipate the inquiry. Naryn Rao, upon his return from paying his devotions at Parbuty, a hill near Poona, was cautioned against the machinations of his uncle by one of the Rastias. He paid however but little attention to the caution, and returned to his palace. He had just retired to rest, when he was aroused from his sleep by violent outcries. Starting up to

inquire the cause, he found the palace surrounded by armed men, who were murdering such of his attendants as came in their sight. A servant rushed in and said, "Mahraj, there is a revolt." He then came out of the palace, and met Naroba one of his servants, and immediately after Junardhun Pundit. This person advised him to fly to Rastia's house, while the Peshva proposed going to Parwute Bhy, the widow of the unfortunate Bhow. The assassins now appeared, and on his coming to the Bhy, she advised them to conceal themselves in a cellar, under her room. They did so, but the Peshva, ashamed of his conduct, cried out, "I am a soldier; there is no use in staying "here, let us go out and attack them." They did so, when his servants attempted to stop him. He abused them, and asked if they meant to be the occasion of his death. He then passed through the palace to his uncle; Sumer Sing followed. Naryn Rao cast himself at his uncle's feet, and placed his head on his knees, imploring pity and protection. Ragonath Rao was affected; he put his hand on his nephew, and desired Sumer Sing to spare him. The ruffian replied, "Are you content to make a sacrifice of your own life? If "he is saved my children will be murdered, and my women "given to *Dhers;* remove your hand, or I will put you to "death; remember your agreement." Ragonath Rao then threw his suppliant nephew from him, while one of his servants dragged the wretched Peshva by the hair, to some

distance. This outrage affected his servants; one cast himself on the body of his master, and was killed by Sumer Singh, who, in doing so, wounded the Peshva. Moro Phurkia offered himself as a victim to save his master's life, and he also was murdered. The wretched Peshva, surrounded by assassins, made an effort to escape, but was wounded and murdered by the unfeeling Sumer Singh, in the presence
1773. of the yet more unfeeling Ragonath Rao[14]. It was the intention of the conspirators to have murdered his wife Gungabhy; but they refrained, from a belief that she was pregnant. Even in this state, she was anxious to accompany her husband's corpse to the funeral pile; but was restrained, and was afterwards delivered of a son, who, under the name of Sevai Mhadoo Rao, succeeded to the Peshvaship.

Horror of the Mahrattas.

For the honour of the Mahratta nation, they did not affect to conceal their horror at Ragonath Rao's flagitious conduct. The greatest detestation pervaded every class of people against the murder of their sovereign; and although they submitted at the moment, their feelings were neither mitigated nor conquered. Ragonath Rao enjoyed his guilty honours but a short time; and although the assistance of the English was disgracefully granted him, the confederacy was too formidable, and the indignation of the Mahrattas

[14] M. MSS.

too great, to submit to the government of a Bramin, polluted with the blood of his nearest relation.

Farther changes in the government.

Under the administration of the great Mhadoo Rao, various changes had occurred in the constitution of the Mahratta empire. The Peshvas, while they had power to maintain it, were considered as the ostensible ministers of superior majesty. They were obeyed as the delegated authority of an indolent and voluptuous sovereign; and as such the principal officers owed them submission and obedience. All grants, excepting those called *Chutraputee*, or grants of the first rajas, were confirmed by them; and a son could not succeed to his father's lands without their acquiescence. But with their success, the seeds of decay had been profusely sown. As their dominions extended, adventurous chieftains rose into notice and power. They had usually commissions from the Peshva, to effect certain conquests, which they received upon certain stipulations. Such had been the rise of the Sindia and Holkar families. The distance of their sphere of action, removed them from the control of the Peshva; and they made war and peace, sometimes without his knowledge, and often without his approbation. The lands which they had conquered were usually assigned them for the maintenance of a body of troops; but as these troops were mostly with their chiefs,

the Mahratta state derived little advantage from the conquests of its servants.

Rise of the Jaghiredars.

Another body under the more humble title of Jaghiredars held land upon a similar tenure, that of performing military service. They also, as the distractions of the empire increased, withheld the revenues they were bound to pay, and seldom produced the troops they had agreed to maintain. The folly of such grants is obvious. The temporary allotment of a country to a Jaghiredar, or the assignment of revenue to an officer of government for the payment of his troops, is attended with the fatal consequences of rebellion and revolt. Others are sent to expel the successful Jaghiredar; and, if victorious, they soon stand in a similar relation. The inhabitants of the country usually support the claims of the actual possessor; and thus each district is destroyed by internal faction. In no country is the fallacious principle of "Divide and govern" more followed. I have known one village to have four separate authorities; three of which were actually at war with each other. The extension of dominion therefore, instead of strengthening, weakened the Mahratta empire; and, by placing power in the hands of various chieftains, dissipated the resources it would have otherwise possessed.

Declining state of the empire.

Such either was, or rapidly became, the condition of the

Mahratta state upon the death of Naryn Rao. I shall therefore be excused the anticipation of a few years, in making a faint and imperfect sketch of the revenues and government of this dismembered empire. The revenues of the Poona state, after the dismemberment of Berar, are estimated by an intelligent observer at three millions[15]. But during the months which followed the murder of Naryn Rao, various losses were sustained, and several rights were abandoned to purchase the forbearance of their Mooslim neighbours, the Nizam and Hyder Ally. Doulutabad with its dependencies, estimated at an annual revenue of two hundred thousand pounds, and actually yielding half, was ceded to the Nizam; and the chout of the Carnatic, with some districts on the Toombudra, in all amounting to the yearly sum of twelve thousand pounds, were granted to the aspiring Hyder. But these losses were trifling in comparison with those which they sustained in Guzerat and the Cocan. These are estimated at five million five hundred thousand pounds; while the treaty with Sindia, and the consequent dismemberment of his hereditary fiefs in Malwa and Candesh, occasioned a farther dilapidation of six hundred thousand pounds. The revenues in Bundelcund, amounting to at least three hundred thousand pounds, were seldom if ever realised; while most of the southern Jaghire-

[15] See Appendix, Note 44.

dars denied the rights, or disputed the authority, of the Peshva. The revenues of the Peshva, after these deductions, were estimated at five hundred thousand pounds, and were possibly somewhat exaggerated. Such was the reduced state of the government, in the years 1781-2; but miserable as it was, how superior to its present condition! The Mahratta revenues are constantly fluctuating, and any judgement of their amount must be liable to errors and exceptions; yet I will hazard the belief, that the present Peshva does not derive from his nominal empire a surplus revenue of one hundred thousand pounds[16].

Loss of authority.

The Peshvas, with loss of revenue, had sustained consequent loss of authority. Under a remarkable fiction of government, they were considered as the delegated servants of a superior power, and as such were acknowledged by the Guikwar, Sindia, and Holkar families[17]. Upon the decline of this power, greatly accelerated by Ragonath Rao, their controlling power was acknowledged, but their authority was no longer desired to sanction the acts or justify the pretensions of the Mahratta chiefs. Each state assumed independent authority; and while they professed obedience to the Peshva, they but stood in the same relation to him, as he stood in respect to the Raja of Sitara. The power

[17] See Appendix, Note 46.

which had been usurped by the first Peshvas, falling into weak hands, had been seized upon by the principal officers of the state: until at length the curious phenomenon was exhibited, of the *minister* of the *delegated authority* of a *confined prince* exercising *sovereign power*, and controlling those chiefs whom he compelled to submit to the received rules of an imaginary constitution[18]. Such were the fictions which existed, until a foreign power dispelled these idle delusions, by concluding treaties of alliance with the different Mahratta chieftains. To complete the picture of human vicissitude, the present Raja of Sitara was a common horseman[19]; while his minister owes his station, and possibly his life, to the remote inhabitants of the sacred isles of the west[20], who guard his person, and direct his councils; and, what may to some be equally strange, to his entire satisfaction, and to the ease, comfort, and security of his subjects.

[18] See Appendix, Note 47.
[19] Colonel Tone's Letters.
[20] See Appendix, Note 48.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE 1.

I SHALL here give a brief account of the authorities I use in the composition of the present History. Mr. Orme, our first Indian historian, was the first also to manifest any interest in the history of the Mahrattas. He collected a considerable degree of information, which he published under the humble title of Fragments; and though his work be not free from errors, they result from the scantiness of his materials, and not from a want of the most patient inquiry. Fully can I enter into the lamented author's feelings of this work; which, I have no doubt, occupied more time, and demanded greater research, than his more celebrated performance. Unfortunately his materials were very defective, and frequently incorrect; and as he did not unite a knowledge of the Asiatic languages with his other great attainments, he sometimes places too great confidence in suspicious authorities. He has, however, concentrated in a small compass, a most valuable mass of information; nor is it to be omitted that he has pointed out almost every European author who has written on the subject.

To my relation, Captain Jonathan Scott, I am proud to confess my obligation; he had the singular duty of revealing to Europe the history of five kingdoms which before were unknown. He performed what Sir William Jones and Major Rennell regretted Colonel Dow had not done; he gave a most correct translation of Ferishta's History; but, although he coincided in opinion with such great authorities, I fear his plan has deterred many readers from perusing his most valuable performance. I am almost entirely indebted to him for my two introductory chapters. His History of Sevajee is taken from a Persian manuscript written by a Bondela chief who attended Dulput Roy, the chief of his tribe, in all Aurungzeb's campaigns.

To Colonel Dow I can express no obligation. His account of the Mahrattas is scanty, imperfect, and incorrect. Mr. Holwell is equally barren.

Major Rennell has published, in his most valuable Memoirs, a short sketch of the Mahrattas; and as we derive our information from a common source, I have preferred referring to it, rather than to this accomplished geographer.

Mr. Craufurd has also published a short account of the Mahrattas, but I was not able to derive any benefit from his publication.

Mr. Kerr, now Colonel Kerr, also published a short narrative of the Mahrattas, translated from a Persian History compiled at his

desire. The early part is totally wrong, but the account of the Peshvas is by far the most correct I have seen.

Mr. Tone published at Bombay some letters upon the state of the Mahrattas, addressed to Colonel Malcolm. They contain some valuable information of the present state, and of the manners of the Mahrattas. Mr. Tone was an officer in the service of Sindia, the Bhyes, and Holkar, and had he possessed a sufficient knowledge of the eastern languages, few persons would have been better qualified to have given the history of the Mahrattas. Mr. Tone lost his life a few years ago, before a fort he was besieging.

Elias Habesci travelled from Surat to Hindoostan, but I did not derive much information from his work. (Objects Interesting to the British Nation, 2 Vols.) Elias Habesci, or Emin, published his most singular life. He was an Armenian or Georgian: seized with a thirst of knowledge, he abandoned his home, embarked for India, and subsequently arrived in England, in charge of two Arabian horses. Here he was greatly reduced, till he met with Mr. Burke, who relieved his wants, although at that time his means were very inadequate to gratify the impulse of his generous mind. He was noticed and patronised, and entered into the Russian service, where he continued some time. But incensed at the degradation of his countrymen, he passed through Persia, raising money for the purpose of emancipating his country, and once more embarked for India. The sums which he raised were very inadequate to his designs, but he persevered, and on his arrival in Georgia, put himself at the head of a few partizans. He

suffered incredible hardships, and was at length convinced of the utter impracticability of his attempt. He returned to India, got into the Company's service, and is lately dead.

The march of the Bombay detachment under the gallant Goddart, and the journal of a route to Nagpoor (Leckie's), contain but little fresh matter.

I have of course considered it to be my duty to consult most of the authorities mentioned by Orme, but to enumerate them would by some be thought vain, and by others useless.

I shall now state such authorities as I believe are exclusively my own.

The Seirool Mootuakhereen was translated by a French renegado, called Mustapha, and published at Calcutta in three large volumes. The history of this man is imperfectly known. He was a Mooslim, and attempted the pilgrimage to Mecca, when he was plundered; he urges the divine origin of the Koran from its unrivalled diction. He was a French, Italian, and Turkish scholar, and a perfect master of Persian and Hindoostanee. His English is bad, but the work contains most useful information with a tolerable sketch of Mahratta history.

Ali Ibrahim Khan, the late venerable judge of the city of Benares, composed a Persian history of the Mahrattas in the year 1786.

Khafee Khan, a Persian historian of the eighteenth century, says, that Aurungzeb directed that no one should write his history after the tenth year of his reign, which agrees with the report of Mr. Fraser: that Moostaid secretly wrote an account of some of his operations, but contented himself with noticing the Mooslim success. Benderabun Dass wrote a short history from the year ten to thirty, which the author with difficulty obtained, but it did not contain so much information as the one he had compiled. Khafee Khan's history is universally esteemed.

Anecdotes of the Southern Courts, by a Mooslim observer, in the year 1781-2. A Persian Manuscript.

Four Mahratta histories of the Life of Sevajee and his son Sambha.—One is kept at Rairi, the ancient capital of Sevajee's empire, and is more authentic than the others.

Two of the Sahoo Raja, including the histories of the three first Peshvas.

Two of the memorable and unfortunate expedition to Hindoostan, which ended in the battle of Paniput. One of these is written by the great Mulhar Rao Holkar, addressed to the Peshva.

Two of Mhadhoo Rao, and two of Naryn Rao. A Mahratta Account of the Raja of Berar, the Guickwar Sindia, and Holkar families.

Mr. Hollingberry has published a translation of the Life of Nizam Ali Khan, the late Soubahdar of the Decan, written in the Persian language, and, as is always the case with works written at the court and under the patronage of the prince, full of the most palpable falsehoods.

The *Vrata Raj*, and *Raja Cosha*, books in the Sanscrit language, and obtained from the Peshva's library, were consulted by my kind friend Mr. Goware.

NOTE 2.

Mr. Orme originally placed this revolution in 1680 (Vol. I. page 108, 4th edition) but sees reason to doubt the accuracy of his information, and hesitates where to place it. Another writer, author of the History and Management of the East India Company, asserts that the revolution in the government of Tanjore happened about the year 1696. But Mr. Orme allows this to be an oversight, as "we have a letter from Madras to Cuddalore which "shows that Ekogi was considered as the ruler of Tanjore in "1687." So much for the authenticity of "MSS. taken on the "spot." Mr. Orme conceives that the expression of Naigue used by the council of Madras to Mr. Elihu Yale, in December 1681, is almost sufficient to determine us that Ecogi at this time was not ruler of the country. I own I do not see the force of this reasoning, because I doubt the information of the council of Madras, as well as their discrimination between *Naigue* and *Raja*. But the Mooslim and Mahratta historians agree in fixing the revolution at

Tanjore in the life-time of Shahjee, the father of Ekojee. " Jun-
" juppa Naigue Poligar, of Moodgul, being at enmity with Pun-
" chee Ragoo, Zemindar of Tanjore, invited Shahjee to his assist-
" ance, and in conjunction they defeated the Raja, who was slain
" in the action, and possessed themselves of his capital and do-
" minions. The allies quarrelling on the division of the plunder,
" and the sum to be paid Shahjee for his services, he attacked
" Junjuppa, slew him in battle, and thus obtained an easy con-
" quest of the Zemindarees of Tanjore and Moodgul, in which
" he obtained confirmation from the regency of Beejapoor, and
" settled them on his son Ekojee, whose posterity still hold them
" under the Nabob of Arcot, or rather the British government."
Aurungzeb's Operations in the Decan. This is prior to 1655.
Every person will agree with Orme in saying, " we admire that, in
" a dispute of such consequence as that which has been lately
" agitated between the Nabob of Arcot and the Raja of Tanjore,
" no regular history has been produced of this country from the
" accession of Ecogi, who is the ancestor of the present Raja;
" not even the dates of death in the succession, nor of the hostili-
" ties whether in the family, or with their neighbours, their
" acknowledgements or resistance of the Mogul government."
Orme's Fragments, page 305, 4to edition. But, in truth, the
inquirers were only anxious to establish a *certain point*, and they
did not wander in search of historical information. And what
better illustration can we have of the want of genuine information,
than the Notes, and " authentic MS. account of Tanjore taken
" on the spot?" Ekojee had three sons, Shahjee, Tookajee, and
Shurfjee: it is from the second son that the present family is
descended.

NOTE 3.

Mr. Orme, I know not upon what authority, says, "that "Aurungzeb sagaciously opposed the growing power of Sevajee "to that of Beejapoor, which would otherwise have recovered "its lost authority during the absence of his best troops and gene- "rals. That he congratulated him upon his victory over Abdoola "Khan, exhorted him to persevere, and gave him two or three "forts which opened into Vizeapore: but not foreseeing "the extent of the concession, or confident of retrieving it, pro- "mised that he should hold, exempt from tribute to the Mogul, "whatsoever territories he might conquer belonging to that "kingdom." Fragments, page 7.—Here again all the native accounts agree against Mr. Orme.

NOTE 4.

Mr. Orme has placed Rairi, in latitude 19° 15′ north and longitude 73° 50′ east, or about fifty miles north and by west from Poona. The authority on which he lays down this fort, is the narrative of Mr. Oxenden, as given by Fryer. Mr. Oxenden was deputed by the Bombay government on a public mission to Sevajee in the year 1674. Mr. Orme has not followed Fryer's sketch of Mr. Oxenden's route, but has marked the stages of Mr. Oxenden's journey, by guessing the distances of the stages, according to a conjecture

that the river Chaul flows from the *south west.* It is plain, however, that the river could not flow from the *south west;* since Chaul is on the sea-coast, and a line drawn from it due *south* would run into the ocean. Mr. Orme's own reasoning therefore confuted itself. But Lieutenant Goodfellow, of the Bombay engineers, established on the spot, that Rygurh to this day is called Raheree, or Rairi, and that instead of being north-west of Poona, it is situated thirty-eight miles west, and forty-two south, from Poona. This information I had always received, but it is owing to the active and intelligent exertion of Colonel Close, ardent in the promotion of all geographical inquiries, that its precise situation is now established beyond all question. It may farther be observed, that if Rairi stood where Mr. Orme has fixed it, sailing to Chaul was going from it, and that it was quite impracticable to have marched there in five days; whereas, by the present position, Chaul was the best place to have landed, and the distance such as might easily be marched in five days. One of the council of Bombay and Sambhajee's ambassador sailed in the Company's baloon, or boat of ceremony, for the river of Nagotan, on their way to Rairi. Nagotan is not far from Chaul, and the routes from both places to Rairi must be nearly the same. It need only farther be observed, that as this part of the Kokun, to the north of Bombay, belonged to Sevajee, there existed no objection of a political nature to the ambassador's travelling by the direct road. Major Rennell was not able to fix its situation, but says in his Memoirs, 180, that it is situated in Baglana.

NOTE 5.

This rests entirely upon the authority of the Mahratta manuscripts, and I think them entitled to credit. Had not Abdoola Khan intended the like treachery, I should greatly doubt his consenting to an interview with such a man as Sevajee, and upon such harsh conditions. For what more could he expect to effect at an interview than could have been effected by his secretary? This intention of Abdoola does not extenuate Sevajee's conduct, for Sevajee had made up his mind from the first to murder the Mogul general. Mr. Orme says, gallantry must regret that his character is once stained with the blood of assassination; but, in truth, Sevajee would have always preferred murder to generous and manly hostility; and it was not his fault that his memory is not oftener stained with the blood of assassination.

NOTE 6.

This anecdote also rests upon the authority of Mahratta manuscripts, but it is not the less deserving of belief. The author of Aurungzeb's Operations in the Decan, a Bondela chief, who composed his history at no considerable distance of time from the transactions he relates, allows that Diler Khan was highly incensed at the treaty, and that he did not withdraw his men from the batteries until the next morning, when his displeasure was in some

degree mollified by a visit from Sevajee. The ground of Diler Khan's anger was "that as Mussulmans had been killed during the siege, and a breach was effected, also a disposition made for the assault, he would not consent to a peace until the fort should be taken." This in some degree confirms the Mahratta account, and of the two I should prefer Mahratta to Mooslim testimony. *Khafee Khan*, who composed a history of Aurungzeb, says that the troops succeeded in blowing up a bastion, and immediately attacked the breach; but a parley taking place, the garrison was spared on condition of an immediate surrender. It is singular that he should make Sevajee surrender some time after, and from his account it would appear that Sevajee was not in the fort. This however is manifestly wrong.

NOTE 7.

The history of the escape, and journey of Sevajee into the Decan, is involved in difficulty. Mr. Orme, and Khafee Khan also, sanctions the story, says that fleet horses were posted at certain distances, and after he was out of the house, that he thus escaped. This was from Delhi, and not, according to Khafee Khan, from Agra. Both accounts however are very incorrect. The Bondela chief agrees with the general account, and with one Mahratta history. But the history of Sevajee deposited at Rairi says that he escaped to the house of a potter, a man of the Decan, and that he continued there a month; and that he afterwards travelled by Mutra, Illahabad, Benares, and Gya. Khafee Khan relates

two anecdotes respecting his journey. On one occasion he and his party were confined for two days, when Sevajee revealed himself to the Foujdar, and persuaded him by handsome presents to connive at his escape. The other, and which he says he heard from the Bramin, was that Sevajee applied to him early in the morning to say some prayers for him, during the time he was performing his ablutions, and to mark him with the type of his *caste*. He gave the Bramin a handful of money, and the ceremony was scarce finished when it was rumoured that Sevajee had escaped, and the stranger instantly decamped. The Mahratta MSS. relate only one story, that Sevajee put up at a poor village, which had been plundered by his troops, and the woman of the house abused him most virulently, and wished that he might be put to death at Delhi. Sevajee begged her name, and the village, with the design of relieving her distres. The Boudela chief makes him travel through Cutac, where he offered a large purse of gold for a sorry horse. The owner said, You must be Sevajee to offer such a sum. He threw down the money and instantly disappeared.

NOTE 8.

Agreeably to his notion that Tanjore was not conquered until after 1680, Mr. Orme places Sevajee's march to Hyderabad in 1676, and this irruption into the Carnatic in 1677. He regrets that his lights upon the most important operation of Sevajee's life are very insufficient; but thinks that he rendezvoused in May 1676, at a fortress belonging to the king of Golconda (it is in the quarto edition,

the one I always quote, 1667, which of course is an error), and from hence he set off passing by Tripetti, and within fifteen miles of Madras. But here I must notice some errors of the elegant historian, resulting no doubt from the want of cotemporary records, of which he so justly complains. In July 1676, Sevajee was at Golconda, and in September returns to Rairi (p. 60.), and thence invades Beejapoor. But if 1667 be an erratum for 1676 (p. 63.), he was in May at a fortress belonging to Golconda, and in July was in possession of Gingee. If it be 1677, which is the more probable, then Mr. Orme occupies two years for this incursion instead of one. For on the 11th July 1677, they wrote from Bombay, "Sevajee at present is a great way off in the Carnatic country *where he wintered* (p. 234); and if this be correct, it would seem certain that Sevajee marched from Hyderabad into the Carnatic, in which all the native historians agree." The author of Aurungzeb's operations in the Decan relates this expedition almost in the words of the Mahratta historians, and I cannot do better than extract it. "Sevajee at this time having made peace with the king of "Hyderabad, and received promises and assurances to his perfect "satisfaction, went to visit him. Adna Pundit, the king's minister, "though a man of great policy and cunning, and a rival of Sevajee "in intrigue, was deceived by his superior art. It was agreed that "joining forces they should march against the Beejapoor Sultan, "and divide what country they might conquer between them, and "afterwards expel the Moguls from the Decan. Their first opera-"tion was planned against Tanjawer Tanjore, a Zemindaree be-"longing to Angojee (Ekojee) Sevajee's half-brother, tributary to "Beejapoor.

" Sevajee accordingly having received a great sum of money, " and large reinforcements of troops from Hyderabad, marched for " Tanjawer, and wrote to Angojee to meet him. Angojee not " dreaming of his brother's treachery came to Tanjawer from Ginjee, " agreeably to his request, and they had an interview, at which " Sevajee demanded the treasures which their father Shahjee, he " said, had left him. Angojee, now seeing no way for escape, but " chicane, humbly told his brother that the fort of Tanjawer, the " country, and every thing he had, was at his service; which decla- " ration satisfied Sevajee, who supposed he had his brother in his " power, and that he could get from him what he pleased; but for " once he was deceived. Angojee having returned to his tents " fled the same night, with a few confidential servants, for Tanja- " wer, where he arrived in twenty-four hours from Gingee, which " is distant one hundred and twenty miles from that fort. Sevajee " upon this plundered his brother's camp; and having gotten pos- " session of Gingee, by treachery, as also some other forts belong- " ing to Beejapoor and Hyderabad, into which he put his own " garrisons, retreated, and then sent back the Hyderabad troops to " their own country." Scott's Decan, Vol. ii. 31, 32. The date in this history is evidently wrong, being 1672.

NOTE 9.

Mr. Orme, in page 71, gives an extraordinary account of this transaction. " The confederates Deler Khan, Serji Khan, and Samb- " hajee, amongst others sacked Huttany, a very considerable mart;

"and Deler Khan proposed to sell the inhabitants who were Hin-
" doos for slaves; but Serji Khan, the general of Viziapore, wished to
" preserve them as recovered subjects, and Sambhajee still more
" sacredly, as being of his own religion: but the two Mahomedans
" agreed, and Sambhajee, in detestation of co-operating any longer
" with such allies, went off with his troops, which were four hun-
" dred horse, and one thousand foot, to his father's fort of Pannela,
" who ordered his admission, and went to meet him at the end of
" the year, when they were reconciled." In Scott, he is said to have " quarrelled with his father, and to have made his escape. He " was received with attention by Deler Khan, and was honoured " with the title of Raja and rank of seven thousand." Vol. ii. 51. " Sevajee's messengers were allowed communication with Sambha, " who now made his escape with only eleven attendants: so that " it must have happened by the connivance of Deler Khan, who " made no inquiries, or example among the guards who watched " his person." Page 531. This nearly coincides with the Mahratta account.

NOTE 10.

The death of Sevajee in Orme (89), is attributed to the violent exertions he made to cut off a rich convoy coming to Aurungabad. He succeeded, but the purchase was dearly earned; for the excessive strain of fatigue caused an inflammation in his breast, attended with a spitting of blood. This account is natural, and I should have adopted it, had I known upon what authority it was

given. The curses of a Mooslim saint effect his death in Scott's translation. Page 54.

NOTE 11.

The following character is given of him by the Boondela chieftain. "Sevajee was a soldier unequalled, skilled in the arts of "government, and a friend to men of virtue and religion. He "planned his schemes wisely, and executed them with steadiness. "He consulted many on every point, but acted according to that "advice which, after weighing in his own mind, he thought best "applicable to his designs. No one was acquainted with his de-"terminations but by the success of their execution." Page 55, Operations in the Decan.

NOTE 12.

The following letters, so expressive of the agony which must always accompany even successful guilt, cannot be too often perused.

Aurûngzeb to Azim Shah.

Health to thee! my heart is near thee. Old age is arrived, weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know

nothing of myself, what I am, or for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power, hath only left sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian or protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly; *I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting;* there is no vestige of departed breath, and *all hopes from futurity are lost.* The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. My son (Kam Bukhsh) though gone to Beejapoor is still near, and thou my son art nearer. The worthy of esteem Shah Alum is far distant, and my grandson, Azeem Ooshan, is arrived near Hindoostan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are, like myself, full of affliction, restless as the quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into the world; and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. *I have a dread for my salvation and with what torments I may be punished.* Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet regarding my actions fear will not quit me, but, when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel to the waves. Though providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensable. Give my last prayers to my grandson (Bedar Bukht), whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) appears afflicted, but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell! Farewell.

To Prince Kam Bukhsh.

My son nearest to my heart; though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now, I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections! Surprising providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deserted me. The fever which troubled me for twelve days has left me. Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity. My fears for the camp and followers are great; but, alas! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the power of motion. The breath which rose is gone, and left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishment I may be seized. Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is also incumbent on the faithful, and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken; and now I am gone, the consequences may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is a trust by God committed to my sons. Azim Shah is near; be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or their miseries fall on my head. I resign you, your mother and son, to God, as I myself am going. The agonies of death come fast upon me. Buhadur Shah is still where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindoostan. Bedar Bukht is in Guzarat. Hyat ool Nissa, who has beheld no affliction of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern.

Odipooree your mother was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.

The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet may not be ill treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no longer than your skirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dara Shekoh, though of much judgement and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were for ever discontented. I am going; whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself, that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. No one has seen the departure of his own soul, but I see that mine is departing.

It is singular that Aurungzeb never mentions the name of Mahomet; in his last moments he drops the mask.

NOTE 13.

Zoolfecar Khan was the most distinguished officer in the Decan. Upon the death of Aurungzeb he joined Azim Shah, and upon the death of that headstrong prince was favourably received by the victorious Shah Alum. That amiable prince soon after his accession sickened and died, leaving his empire a prey to the contentions of his sons. Zoolfecar Khan attached himself to a party formed against Azeem oos Shan by the three remaining brothers.

Juhan Khan, one of the brothers, obtained a complete victory, but did not avail himself of the means which he had so bravely purchased. The whole of the treasures were intrusted to Zoolfecar Khan, who was to make an impartial division of them, and of the provinces, between the three brothers. The fate of the brothers now rested with Zoolfecar Khan, and he basely determined to take advantage of the unsuspicious confidence of the noble Juhan Shah. He determined to seat Moizood Deen upon the throne, as he was a weak prince and fond of pleasure. He accordingly delayed dividing the spoil, knowing that the troops of Juhan Shah and Rufi oos Shan were clamorous for pay, and dissatisfied at losing the plunder of the enemy's camp. Juhan Shah was warned against Zoolfecar Khan's treachery, but he scorned to seize him, and at his next visit told him his suspicions, adding, "even now, perhaps thy "family is dreading that I may be putting thee to death; which, "however politic, I scorn to do by fraud; rise, then, and go in "peace to thy own house." The mask was now withdrawn, and Juhan Shah was preparing to attack the treacherous Zoolfecar Khan, when a fire broke out in his camp which destroyed the greater part of his ammunition. The merit of the act was afterward claimed by Rajee Khan, a man of bad character, but who was now rapidly promoted. Juhan Shah made an unsuccessful attack the next morning, and was killed with his son. Two rivals only remained to contend for the throne, and Rufee oos Shan, who had been a spectator of the battle, now proposed to his followers to attack the victorious army. But they refused, and the next morning when he commenced his attack, his plans had been discovered; he was defeated and slain. Thus fell the sons of Shah Alum, and

before a wretch who disgraced the character of man. Zoolfecar Khan had now reached the summit of his ambition, but only to prove the instability of fortune. Ferokhsere, the son of Azeem oos Shan, accompanied by the Syyuds of Bareh, marched towards Delhi, defeated the trembling Juhandar Shah, and revenged the death of his relations, upon the treacherous, yet gallant, Zoolfecar Khan.

NOTE 14.

The Pruthee Nidhee received, in the year 1741, ten lacs of rupees, upon condition of maintaining three thousand horse. He had before received *Bagawaree* in the Beejapoor Soubah; Joula in the Sangola Pergunah, Rozul Lal in the Zellah of Poona. The authority of the Pruthee Nidhee was lost in the usurpation of the Peshvas, and the present Man is a prisoner at Poona. This family was founded by Pundit Rao, and constituted Pruthee Nidhee by the great Sevajee.

NOTE 15.

The following is extracted from the Raja Cōsha, or Royal Dictionary, in which the *Yavana* or Mooslim terms are subjoined to the Sanscrit offices. It will appear incorrect from the Persian terms; the Persian *office*, and *officer*, being indiscriminately applied to the latter term in Sanscrit.

Sanscrit.	*Persian.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Persian.*
1 Pradham	Peshva	Sachiva	Surnuvis
2 Amatya	Mujemdar	Muntri	Wakanis
3 Senaputi	Hukumut	Niaydhés	Adalut
4 Pravina	Dubir	Sumunt	Carmulki.

The Persian scholar will also observe that the Yavana terms are barbarously pronounced.

NOTE 16.

Tukojee Holkar wrapped one round in cloths steeped in oil, and set fire to it. Others are immersed in cold water until their limbs become lifeless. Under the Peshva's government, himself a bramin, they are held in greater veneration, yet there they undergo lingering deaths.

NOTE 17.

All of Monsieur Anquetel du Perron's observations are entitled to attention, although in the present instance I can by no means submit to his authority.

" Le pays des Maratis generalement est ouvert. Le peuple, gai, " fort, et plein de santé, ne compte que sur son courage, et ses

" armes. Leur force principale est dans la cavalerie. L'hospitalité " est leur vertu dominante. Ce pays me sembloit être celui de " la nature. Je croyois presque, en parlant aux Marates, converser " avec les hommes du prémier age." Zenda Avesta, Vol. i. 223.

NOTE 18.

Among other instances of similarity, the following from Major Rennel's Memoirs may suffice. The slender make of their bodies. Their living on vegetable food. Distribution into sects and classes, and the perpetuation of trades in families. Marriages at seven years of age; and prohibition of marriages between different classes. The men wearing ear-rings; particoloured shoes; and veils covering the head and great part of the shoulders. Daubing their faces with colours. Two-handed swords, and bows drawn by the feet. Manner of taking elephants. The Hindoo men of the present day do not, I believe, sacrifice themselves.

NOTE 19.

The Mahratta ladies ride out unveiled, and I have seen the Peshva's late wife lunging her horse before a crowd of spectators. The term boorka, or widow, is almost synonymous to prostitute. Nothing can reflect more dishonour on a Mooslim than his wife, or females, being seen. The following anecdote places this feeling in a strong light. " I (Eradut Khan) was advanced a little in front " to prepare the boat, when suddenly one of my attendants cried out,

" Where are you going? your honour is lost. I looked behind me, " and saw the enemy near my women: upon which, in a state of " furious despair, I hastened back with my grandson, as Asker " Khan's people could not reach me in time for my assistance. I " leaped from my horse, and seizing my *wife and daughter by each* " *hand, rushed with them into the river up to their waists, and* " *covered the rest of their persons with cloths,* drawing my sword to " defend them with my life from this insult: and luckily for my " honour, their faces were not seen by the eyes of a stranger." Eradeet Khan's Memoirs, 12.

NOTE 20.

The Vrata Raj was composed in Sanscrit at Benares, by Viswanath Bhut, of the tribe of Chilpawan (or inhabitants of the Kokan), in the year of Vickramajeet 1658, or A. D. 1602. The design of this work is to show the religious duties imposed on monarchs during each day in the year; and the relation such duties hold with their temporal prosperity. It would appear therefore by the date of this book that the Dessara was instituted long before Sevajee's time. In the Bhavisya Purana, it is written, that on the 10th of Asavna, in the light half of the moon, at the appearance of the constellation *Shravan*, the glorious Rama Chundra quitted his abode, and proceeded to pass the limits of Kishkinda. There, in the north-east quarter, he perceived a sami tree, under whose symbol he adored the Divinity, after which he gave it his blessing. An account of the celebration of the Dessara is given by Lord Valentia, and upon Bramin authority, yet meagre, and incorrect.

NOTE 21.

The Mahratta MSS. insinuate a suspicion of poison, while the Persian MSS. attribute it to the prayers of a Mooslim devotee. The suicide of his wife, whose views had failed, almost justifies the former supposition. One Mahratta MS. expressly charges her with the murder.

NOTE 22.

The following is a schedule of the various articles he had in store:—Copper, 215 candies (a candy is about 1600lbs.); iron, 200 candies; brass, 175 ditto; tin, 400 ditto; nutmegs, 16 ditto; lead, 4300 ditto; sandal wood, 25 ditto; camphor, 2 ditto; musk, 2 ditto; gum, 1500 ditto; oil of Moogree, 2; of Chumbelee or Jasmin, 2; Chumpa, 2; ghee, 500; oil, 7000; beetle-nut, 800; assafœtida, 300; zeerah, 1000; unsol, 2500; sugar-candy, 10,000; soft sugar, 10,000; tobacco, 5000; turmeric, 10,000; brimstone, 2000; sundries, 60,000; rice, 7000; ragee, 20,000; juwaree, 15,000; wheat, 10,000; chuna, 12,000; oord, 15,000; moong, 1500; bataneh, 10,000.

CLOTHS.

White, 4000 pieces; coarse selas, 3000; Boorhanpoor cloths, 1000; patros, 10,000; fine white cloths, 2000; Pytun Ahmedabad and Jalnapoor cloths, 40,000; coarse cloths, 100,000.

ARMS, &c.

Dirks, 40,000; swords, 30,000; spears, 40,000; long dirks, 60,000; double-edged swords, 50,000; shields, 60,000; bows, 40,000; arrows, 180,000; paper, 50,000 quires.

METALS AND JEWELS.

Gold, 51,000 tolas; rubies, 200 tolas; pearls, 1000 ditto; diamonds, 500 ditto.

Silver rupees, nine crore, or 10,000,000*l.* sterling. The forts were very numerous.

Among his principal officers were the names of Bhonsla, Guykwar, Palkur Nimbhalkur Moheeté, Goojur, Holkur, Sirké, Mankur, Sakakur Pakré, Bhawulkur, Dulwee, Saloonké.

NOTE 23.

Most cities in the East have a fabulous origin: the following is given of the city of Boorhanpoor. "About four hundred years "ago, an itinerant fakeer of great sanctity, named Boorhan ood "Deen Onlia, arrived from the northern countries in the district "of Asser, and halted at an uncultivated spot, since the site of "the city of Boorhanpoor. He moved in great state, accom-"panied by four hundred disciples, who travelled in palanquins.

" The news of his arrival went abroad, and a husbandman of a " neighbouring village having approached to see him, he asked " the name of his village; the man replied, *Busonna*, meaning in " Hindooee to *render populous*. The fakeer was pleased with the " name, and repeated it in an emphatical manner, to which is " attributed the origin of the city of Boorhanpoor, which soon " after was founded, and during the life-time of the fakeer attained " great prosperity and splendour. The fame of his sanctity was " so great, that he was visited by Mooslims from all parts of India, " who made him rich offerings, and vied with each other in " adorning the city with mosques, mausoleums, fountains, and " other public buildings; until at length Adil Shah surrounded " it with a wall and bastions; subsequent to which the prince " Bedar Bukht selected a spot within the place on which he " erected a citadel of the form of that at Delhi. Boorhan ood " Deen remained at the city to an advanced age, when he " removed to the eminence called Roza, near Doulutabad, where " he was interred; his durga continuing with little decay to this " day. Many of the disciples of this holy man were buried at " Boorhanpoor, their names having attached to different streets " and spots of the city, as the Morad of Shah Munsoor, the street " of Zynood Deen, &c."

NOTE 24.

The history of this man is very obscure, and it is difficult to say whether he was Mooslim or Hindoo. Mr. Orme mentions a singular letter written by Sambhajee to Keigwin. Khafee Khan at once resolves the difficulty, but I doubt his accuracy. He

says that Kub Kulus was the Bramin who brought Sambhajee from Hindoostan; while the Mahratta history states that the name of the Benares Bramin was Nanajee Wiswas. "The Raja travelled night and day, and reached Mutra disguised as a Byragee. There were at that place three brothers called Chimnajee Punt, Casee Punt and Nanajee, with whom Neerajee Punt was acquainted. The latter introduced the Raja to them, and in private communicated to them their situation, and they agreed to take charge of Sambhajee, whom Sevajee accordingly gave in charge to them, and they gave him instruction with their own children." Another Mahratta history says, that the Bramin who delivered Sambhajee into the hands of the Mooslims, was a native of Canouge, and sent into the service of Sambhajee by Aurungzeb. Both the Persian and Mahratta historians agree that he was a Bramin, the only circumstance in which they coincide. The P. MSS. assert, that he was the minister and participator of his most infamous pleasures; the M. MSS. that he had a beautiful wife who had seduced his affections. Sambhajee, according to one M. MS., was taken with his son Sahoo, and it can scarcely be imagined, that he would have accompanied his father upon so rash an enterprise. I have given all the accounts I have been able to collect; it must be confessed that they do not throw much light upon the subject.

NOTE 25.

The author of the Persian Memoranda says, that his body was stuffed with straw, and sent round the adjacent country, an example of the fate of those who resisted the imperial authority.

NOTE 26.

It appears from the Bondela MS. that Sahoo was taken at Rairi: one Mahratta MS. says he was taken with his father. The Mahratta accounts are meagre and imperfect in this part of their history, while the Bondela historian was an eye-witness of what he relates.

NOTE 27.

The family of Gorporé is one of the oldest in the Mahratta empire. It was a Gorporé who seized Sevajee's father, Shahjee, and was on the point of killing him, when he was arrested in his intention by an order from court. Sevajee avenged his father on his treacherous friend. The house of Gorporé is divided into three branches. At the head of the first is Naryn Rao, son of Govind Rao, eldest son of Malojee Raja. He resides at the family fort called Moodhóla, on the Gutpurba, ten miles from Jumkhunda. His annual revenue is about thirteen thousand pounds.

At the head of the second branch is Bujing Rao, whose hereditary residence is at Gujindergurh. The famous Morari Rao so often mentioned in Orme was of this branch. This family is fallen into decay; several of their districts have been seized, and their yearly income does not exceed three thousand pounds.

At the head of the third branch is Naryn Rao Senaputi, who resides at Copsi. They are subject to the Raja of Colapore. Their income does not exceed eight thousand pounds. Jeswunt Rao Gorporé Ameerool Oomra, who negotiated the peace of Surje Unjengom, is of this family.

NOTE 28.

I have not been able to ascertain at what period Sitara became the capital of the Mahratta empire. Sevajee built Rairi with the intention of making it his capital. It continued so during his life, and it is possible that upon its being taken by Eaticad Khan, the seat of government was removed to Sitara.—This happened in A. D. 1692.

NOTE 29.

As this is one of the most important events in Mahratta history, I shall give it in the words of the Mahratta historian. "He sent for the eight Pradhans, and communicated to them the "accounts he had received, and desired them to take the necessary "measures for checking these depredations. They all remained "silent. He then looked toward Balajee, who got up and "addressed the Raja, saying, 'If you will give me orders, through "'your good fortune they will be carried into effect.' Upon this "the Raja placed his hand upon Balajee's head, and desired him "to take the troops."

" The Maha Raja gave him the entire administration of " affairs with the dress of Peshva. His fame and greatness were " daily augmented; the eight Pradhans of the state became " subject to him."

Such was the origin of the family of the Peshvas, who, from being Bramins of rather low cast, rose suddenly to the sovereign authority of a mighty empire.—I subjoin a genealogical tree of the family.

NOTE 30.

The appearance of the Mahrattas at Delhi forcibly reminds us of the sack of Rome by the Goths. Both were accustomed to respect an ideal power, which had become venerable from age.

NOTE 31.

My principal authority for this account of the Rajas of Berar is the Asiatic Annual Register for 1801. Since that account was given, the Raja of Berar has lost a considerable portion of his territory. By the treaty of peace in 1804, he ceded all his territory, west of the river Wurda, with the narrow slip of land which divided our Bengal provinces from those of Madras. The jealousy which had long subsisted between the Raja of Berar and Sindia subsided upon our concluding the treaty of Basseen. But the union, as I have mentioned, was productive of the most

disastrous consequences. His revenues before the war were estimated at one million, and his expenses above that sum. I have no doubt that this opinion is more correct than that of the Mooslim observer, who says that the Raja annually saved five hundred thousand pounds. Our gallant army expected to have found all his treasures at Gaelgurh, but he had none to lose.

NOTE 32.

The general nature of my history did not admit of my giving a more minute detail of the family of Guickwar in the body of my work. I have much pleasure in adding it in the form of a note.

Guzerat was invaded A. D. 1726, by Pilajee Guickwar, an officer in the service of Umma Bhy, the widow of the Dhabarya of Tulegom. He was accompanied by Cantajee Bhandia. In the year 1730, the latter officer, aided by Ahmed Khan, defeated or slew Shujaet Khan, and Roostem Ali Khan, who had expelled him from the Soobadary of Guzerat, where he acted as Naib, for his grand nephew, the famous Gazyood Deen. Some years after, the Mogul authority entirely expired, and the fort of Ahmedabad came into the possession of the victors. In the year 1731, the town of Baroda fell into the hands of Damajee Guickwar, son of Pilajee, who expelled the officers of (Preti) Retna Singh Bhandary, Naib of Abhy Singh, governor of Guzerat. On the removal of Abhy Singh, Moumen Khan, Nabob of Cambay, with the

assistance of Shankojee Pandit, in the change of the Guickwar's affairs, took the city of Ahmedabad from the Marwari, or Bhandary, who held it on the part of the Mogul. Shankojee stipulated as the price of his aid, for an equal share of the revenues of Cambay and Ahmedabad, which in consequence took effect from that year (1736). Moumen Khan was succeeded in A.D. 1743, by Moftakher Khan his son, from whom the government was taken by Fekhr u Dowlah, who was made prisoner by the Guickwars and died with them: he was succeeded by Nabob Cumal u Dien Babi, who held it till 1754 or 1755, when Ahmedabad was finally conquered by Ragonath Rao, who assigned to Cumal u Dien the town of Puttere, with four lacs of rupees revenue. The two last appear to have been sent from Delhi to reinstate the Mogul authority, as in 1743 Mr. Hodges states that (Moftakher) Mostufa Khan had been driven out by Cumal u' Dien, and fled to Cambay. In the year A.D. 1748, Damajee Guickwar was compelled to divide his acquisitions with the Peshva, to whose share the moiety of the Cambay revenue fell. After the defeat of Shujaet Khan the Moguls ceded to Umma Bhy one half of Guzerat, who upon the death of her sons adopted Pilajee Guickwar, and seated him on the Gadi of Baroda, which was confirmed by the Raja of Satara, who also conferred on him the title of "Sena Khas Khyl Shumsher Buhadur." Bhugwan Das Dessaye of Dundouka states, that Cantajee held that Purgunna in Jaghire during Pilajee's life; after his death Damajee gave it to his own son Deewan Deojee Rao, who enjoyed it about sixteen years; when it was resumed in consequence of a dispute with his father. Deojee repaired to Poona, and his intrigues there compelled Damajee also to proceed there, when he was forced to

compound with the Peshva for relinquishing one half of the country, and becoming tributary for the other half: this was previous to the reduction of Ahmedabad in 1752.

Pilajee died about 1732, and was succeeded by his son Damajee, who died in 1768, succeeded nominally by his eldest son Syajee, but in effect by Futteh Singh his brother, who, dying in 1789, was succeeded by Manajee, his half-brother, who died in 1792; upon which Govend Rao, another son of Damajee, succeeded, after a few months' usurpation by his son Canojee; and dying in September 1800 (or Asavin 1855 Vickram), his son Anund Rao has since occupied the gadi, or cushion of state.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

A dispute having arisen between Bajee Rao Peshva and Trimbac Rao Dhabarya, the latter fell in an action which took place, and his sons fled to the Moguls. Trimbac Rao's principal chief Damajee Guickwar then submitted to the victor, but afterwards taking up arms was defeated and made prisoner by the Peshva, who however released him on receipt of 1,500,000 rupees, and gave him a grant of a moiety of Guzerat, on condition of his becoming his vassal, paying a tribute of six lacs of rupees, and maintaining ten thousand horse. Some years afterward Damajee died, leaving three sons. Govend Rao was the son by the first wife, but younger than Syajee and Futeh Singh, the sons of his second wife. A dispute then arose about the succession, which they referred to Poona,

where it was decided according to the Shastras that the first-born of whichsoever wife should succeed. As Syajee was blind, the Peshva Madhoo Rao gave the sunnuds to Futeh Singh, for which he paid seventy lacs of rupees; Govind Rao, who remained at Poona after the death of Naragee Rao, obtained sunnuds for Guzerat from Ragoba, on paying twenty-two lacs of rupees, and immediately began a war with his brother.

Raghonath Rao being supported by the English marched towards Guzerat, where he was joined by Govind Rao, while his brother Futteh Singh joined the ministerial army; but the latter withdrawing their forces on Colonel Upton's arrival, he was compelled to seek terms with the English, who engaged to prevent the disturbance of his country by Govind Rao, or Ragonath Rao. On this Govind Rao marched across the river Mahi, where he established his authority.

Eswant Rao Dhabarya, son of Trimbac Rao, died amongst the Moguls, leaving one son, who arrived at Poona three years ago, and applied to the Paishwa for his territories.

At Baroda it is stated that after the arrival of Damajee and his brother Candi at Poona, they were defeated by the Paishwa, and Damajee was afterwards induced to meet the latter on a Bhandary of personal security; but in violation of this he was seized and imprisoned, and as the price of his liberty he was obliged to subscribe to any terms. In consideration of this act, which seems always to have been viewed by the Gaicwar family as treacherous, Damajee

ever afterwards refused to salute the Paishwa with his right hand, observing, that this hand remained in the house of God, as its pawn had never been redeemed.

NOTE 33.

My inquiries relative to this expedition were fruitless. No one is so well calculated to elucidate this dark portion of Mahratta history as Major Colin Mackenzie, to whose patient investigation the world is already so much indebted. I have not failed to consult M. D. L. T.'s Life of Hyder, but ex nihilo nihil fit. Captain Robson's account, which is authentic, does not commence so far back. The records of the Koolcurnies would possibly throw much light upon this invasion.

NOTE 34.

The cession of a large portion of Bundelcund to the British government, and the treaties it has concluded with the Bondela chiefs, must render any account of that province both interesting and instructive.

Under the government of Chutur Sal Singh, Bundelcund was emancipated from the yoke of the Moguls. The distractions which rent that empire rendered it a task of little difficulty, but

the Raja had soon to resist a more formidable foe, and beneath whose arm he was forced to submit. A treaty of alliance was concluded with the great Bajee Rao, who was adopted ; and who, upon the death of the Raja, received one third of his dominions, upon the condition of protecting his posterity in the possession of the remainder. His dominions, which were estimated at the annual revenue of one million sterling, exclusive of the diamond mines, were divided between two sons. The lands bequeathed the Peshva comprised the districts of Kalpy, Hutta, Sagur, Ihansi, Seronge, Koonch, Currah, and Kota, yielding a revenue of above three hundred thousand pounds. But even at this period the perverse policy of granting lands for military service had been adopted by the Mahrattas.

Hurda Sing, the Raja's eldest son, with the title of Raja of Punna, received as his portion Kalinger, Mahar, Kootch, and Dhamony, supposed to yield a revenue of four hundred thousand pounds. The second son, with the title of Raja of Bindee, enjoyed an annual revenue of three hundred thousand pounds.

Hurda Singh was succeeded by his son Subbah Singh, who left three sons. Hindooput by the assassination of his elder brother succeeded to the government. He confined his younger brother, who died without issue. Hindooput left three sons; and bequeathed his dominions to Androod Singh, under the guardianship of Bani Huzoory, Dewan, and Kaimjee, commandant of the strong fortress of Kalinger. The guardians soon become jealous of each other, when Kaimjee separated himself from Bani Hu-

zoory, and espoused the cause of Sernad Singh, a son by a second marriage. A most bloody but indecisive action was fought between the rival parties, and the principal adherents being killed, the guardians, on the death of Androod Singh, agreed to the elevation of his own brother Dowkal Singh, a minor.

The state of Bindi had undergone great alterations. Jugut Raj leaving a numerous issue, parcelled out his lands into four divisions. The two larger he left to his grandsons Goman Singh and Koman Singh; the lesser to his own sons Pohar Singh and Beer Singh. Goman Singh dying without issue, left his possessions to his nephew Bukht Singh.

Koman Singh obtained lands to the annual value of sixty thousand pounds, and left them to Bejy Behadur.

Pohar Singh had lands to a similar amount: he left them to his son Gudy Singh, and he to Kaissee Singh.

Beer Singh, the son of Jugut Raj, left his lands to his son Kaisuree Singh.

Sernaid Singh upon the defeat of his hopes applied to Noona Arzoon, the guardian of Bukht Singh, at that time a minor. Bani Hoozoory was defeated and slain, when Noona Arzoon abandoned the cause he had maintained, annexing the possessions of Punna to that of Bindi. The unfortunate Dowkal Singh, Raja of Punna, after this lived on the bounty of the commandant of Ka-

linger, and dying, the remainder of his estate was seized by one of his servants.

Such was the distracted state of Bundelcund, when the artful and ambitious Nana Furnaveese succeeded to the office of minister to the Peshva. In defiance of a solemn compact, he resolved on annexing the whole of Bundelcund to the Mahratta state. With this view Ally Buhadur, the son of Shamsher Buhadur, the illegitimate offspring of the great Bajy Rao, was sent with a large army into Bundelcund. He was opposed by Noona Arzoon, who fell in battle, and thus the states of Punna and Bindi came into possession of the Mahrattas. Still the conquest was by no means accomplished; and, upon his death in 1802, his second son, under the countenance of his uncle Guny Behadur, was placed in the government. But the views of Guny Behadur were soon developed, and Hemmut Behadur, the late Raja's dewan, and who had been instrumental in this transaction, enraged at his associate's perfidy, wrote to Shumsher Buhadur the eldest son, at that time at Poona, to invade Bundelcund. At the same moment he made offers of resigning the country to the English, which offers were favourably received, and a treaty was concluded with a man who gave up what he never possessed, and to which he had no earthly right.

Shumsher Buhadur accepted the invitation of the unprincipled Hemmut Buhadur, and compelled his uncle to resign his usurped power. Meanwhile the Peshva, whose authority over Bundelcund was partly founded in treachery, and which now was merely nominal, ceded his rights to the English, receiving in exchange the district

of Savanore, and other lands in the neighbourhood of Surat. Shumsher Buhadur, glad to get any thing, was pensioned by our government. And here I may ask, what have we gained by this most inconsiderate treaty? Its justice I shall not question; but in giving up Savanore and the lands near Surat, which were greatly improving, we resigned a substance to grasp at a shadow. We had to conquer Bundelcund, and the conquest I believe is not yet accomplished; whereas the revenues we derived from Savanore and the lands near Surat were certain, and with every prospect of increase. To the Peshva, the exchange was most advantageous, for he gave up (I may be pardoned the solecism) what he never possessed, receiving in exchange a certain and important consideration. Bundelcund, certainly (and this may have been the motive for resigning a more valuable possession), protects the rich province of Benares.

NOTE 35.

The following translation is the best account I have been able to obtain of the origin of the family of Holkur.

" Kundojee Dhungur Holkur was a poor man and a shepherd. Mulharjee Holkur was his son, born in the time of the Sahoo Raja and Ballajee Rao Pundit Purdhan, which is about eighty-nine years ago. Mulharjee Rao was likewise employed in taking care of sheep; and it is reported that about the age of six or seven he one day went to sleep while in charge of his flock, when a snake was observed to shade him with his hood from the sun. This was

reported to Narain Rao Bunde, who was a Surdar at the court of the Sahoo Raja, and his maternal uncle. On hearing this story, he predicted his future fortunes, and in consequence engaged him in his service, and appropriated some horses for his use. Narain Rao Bunde likewise gave him his daughter, Goutamu Bhaee, in marriage. Shortly after, Narain Rao died, and as Mulharjee Holkur was his son-in-law, Ballajee Rao and Bajee Rao Pundit Purdhan exerted themselves in his favour, and obtained an honorary dress from the Sahoo Raja, and took him with them on their expedition against Hindoostan. And in consequence of his services the Pundit Purdhan patronised him; and, remaining himself in Malwa, ordered Mulhar Rao to continue his route to the northward. In consequence of which he penetrated as far as the Attock, and levied contributions on the country of Lahore, and then returned to his patron. As a reward for his services, he received, in addition to his former jàgeers, the country of Mutra Etawa and Shekohabad.

" About this period his son Kundee Rao was born, and soon after Bajee Rao Pundit Purdhan died, and was succeeded by Ballajee Rao and Wiswas Rao. And now the famous expedition into Hindoostan was determined upon, and all the Surdars of note, among whom was Mulhar Rao, assembled under the command of the Bhow and Wiswas Rao. But fortune did not favour this undertaking; the Mahrattas were defeated in the battle of Paniput, and both the commanders were slain. Mulhar Rao fled, and it is said enriched himself with the spoils of his countrymen. In consequence of this defeat, Ballajee Rao, anxious

to wipe away this stain, commenced his march towards Hindoostan: he reached Oojyn and died at that city, and was succeeded by Mhadoo Rao. Soon after, Kundee Rao, the son of Mulhar Rao, died, leaving a son by Uhille Bhaee, called Maloo Rao, who likewise died in a short time, and thus Mulharjee Holkur was deprived of offspring.

"Tukojee Holkur, who was a relation, was adopted by Goutamu Bhaee at the suggestion and persuasion of Uhillu Bhaee. This was approved by the Poona state, and when Mulhar Rao died (which was soon after) he succeeded to his estates. Tukojee Holkur served the state thirty-five years, under the governments of Mhadoo Rao and Ragonath Rao, and then died, leaving four sons: Kashee Rao Holkur, the son of his first wife; Mulhar Rao Holkur, the son of his second; and two illegitimate, one called Wytul Rao Holkur, and the other Jeswunt Rao Holkur.

"A few days before his death, Tukojee Holkur sent for Kashee Rao, declared him to be his heir, and had him recognised as such by his family. His claim, however, was disputed by Mulhar Rao, who brought forward the plea of his brother being born before the rise of his father's fortunes, and asserted his right to the Holkur territories. Kashee Rao Holkur, to ensure his own safety, and to maintain the possession of his inheritance, bribed Doulut Rao Sindia to murder his brother. Mulhar Rao Holkur had been long suspicious of the designs of his brother and Sindia, and in consequence, the strictest vigilance was observed in his camp. But his fears being dissipated by the assurances both of the Peshva

and Nana Phurnaveese that his alarms were groundless, he relaxed in the precaution which was formerly maintained. On the morning of the 14th of September, 1797, Sindia assembled about five thousand of his troops for the ostensible purpose of accompanying him on a hunting excursion. His route was by Mulhar Rao's camp, but when he had approached within a mile of it, he took a different direction, leaving the greater part of his troops to perpetrate the intended massacre.

" On the approach of day-light, the piquet in Mulhar Rao's camp had been withdrawn, and Mulhar Rao himself had just retired to rest. Sindia's troops made an immediate attack on his tent, and so sudden and unexpected was this outrage, that he had only time to mount his horse. His followers upon the first alarm fled, and not more than fifteen men remained to share the fate of their master. Mulhar Rao soon fell: the troops then dispersed to plunder his camp. When this happened, Wytul Rao and Jeswunt Rao Holkar fled, but both the wives of Mulhar Rao fell into the hands of Kashee Rao Holkar: he treated them with the utmost indignity and cruelty, on account of their being pregnant.

" Two months after this affair Kundee Rao was born, and was protected against the designs of Kashee Rao, by Mulhar Shomjee, a dependant of the family.

" Wytul Rao, after flying from Poona, collected a few troops and commenced plundering the country. He was soon seized,

and, on being brought to Poona, was ordered by the Peshva to be thrown under the foot of an elephant. Jeswunt Rao fled to Nagpoor, and was imprisoned by the Berar Raja. He soon however contrived to elude the vigilance of his guards, and made his escape in the disguise of a woman. It is said that Sindia received as a reward for his treachery and infamy, six lacs of rupees, the cession of two Pergunnahs, and the delivering up of a bond for sixty lacs of rupees, advanced to Mahajee Sindia by Uhileu Bhy."

NOTE 36.

Genealogical sketch of the Sindia (Seendheea) family. "Jyapa Sindia, the founder of the family, was originally a Khetmutgar, or personal attendant, to the great Bajee Rao. He had two sons, Dutajee and Ranojee Sindia. Jyapa, whilst engaged in conquest, was assassinated by two Marwaries. He was succeeded by his eldest son, who was succeeded by his only son Junkojee. This fine young man was taken prisoner at the battle of Paniput, and soon after was murdered. His uncle Ranojee succeeded. Upon his death, Kedarjee, his eldest son, then at Oogeen, took possession of the government *without the sanction of the Peshva.* *Mahajee,* the younger son, who was in the neighbouring districts, took advantage of his brother's temerity, and repaired to Poona with about three thousand horse. He was immediately appointed to the government by the great Mhadoo Rao, and returned to supplant his brother. That year being the Shengust, he found means to entertain in his service a great number of Gosains from among

the pilgrims proceeding to Nassuck. He arrived at Oogeen with a large army, and having surrounded the city, soon got possession of his brother's person, who died some months after in prison. Kedarjee left a son Anund Rao Sindia, who was treated by Mahajee with as much kindness as policy would permit. He died, leaving issue the present Doulut Rao, who was adopted by Mahajee on his return from Hindoostan.

" Mahajee Sindia left three daughters; the eldest, now a widow, was married to Nursingh Rao, late Desmookh of Poona. When the great Bajee Rao raised Jyapa to rank, he gave him in Jaghire, the Cusba of Chumargoonda, and the villages of Jamgong and Auwund. Mahajee made Jamgong a place of residence: he commenced on some buildings there, and peopled and improved the town. Doulut Rao also expended considerable sums on it, but in the destructive war between him and Holkar, it was plundered and greatly destroyed by the latter chieftain."

NOTE 37.

The observations of the " Mooslim Observer," upon this change of government, are worth recording:—

" This union of spiritual and temporal authority forms a two-
" headed monster in society, which might frighten an ignorant
" world into submission; but it is necessarily of short duration,
" even if by the lights of science and cultivated reason the period

" of its existence be not accelerated; for the regimen which is " proper for the support and nourishment of the one part, em- " poisons and enfeebles the other. Such was the mighty Caliphat " of Arabia and Persia; and under the divine authority of Maho- " met and his holy contemporaries the unnatural being might " thrive, but it should be classed among the miracles to prove the " mission of our prophet. When mere mortals undertook a more " than human task, they only showed the presumptive weakness of " their reason. How much juster is the application with respect " to the barbarous hierarchy instituted in Meerhat on the death of " the Sahoo Raja! That prince and his ancestors delegated the " administration of their government to eight subordinate officers: " but, contrary to the true spirit of eastern legislation, these " became hereditary in particular families; so did in like manner " the estates and Jaghires, into which the whole conquered coun- " tries were divided and parcelled out among the civil, military, or " religious dependants of the Rajahs."

I doubt whether this is altogether to be credited.—It is said that Bajee Rao promised the different chieftains of the empire to respect all their rights and privileges. And my Lord Wellesley, in his notes on the Mahratta war, speaks of " the constitution of the " Mahratta empire as established by Bajee Rao, the first Peshva." But with great deference to so high an authority, I must doubt the accuracy of this statement. It is at least certain that Bajee Rao was not the first Peshva, and the most that can be said is, that Balajee tacitly acknowledged the assumptions of the other public officers of the empire. It was simply

connivance, certainly no public or authentic acknowledgement of their claims.

NOTE 38.

The eight Pradhans are still continued, but their authority is lost in the supremacy of the Peshva. The Pruthee Nedhee, the first officer of the state, is now a prisoner in his house at Poona, while his lands have been assigned to a chieftain of the name of Gocla.

NOTE 39.

Any statement of the revenues of India must be interesting. The present one was made out from Mahratta records shortly after the campaign of my Lord Cornwallis:—

SUBAH OF AURUNGABAD.

SIRCAR OF DOULUTABAD.

27 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Fort Collections	15,747
City Collections and Customs	467,717
Antore, (Adjenta)	139,692
Pholemberi	192,648
Vijapore	216,217
Jeláli	32,609
Fúrcabad	6750
Kholatabad	85,429
Rajapore or Verolo	54,430
Rajdehra	31,706
Satara	15,273
Sitonda	62,534
Sultánpore	16,985
Gándapore	402,127
Cannur 2 Mahals	147,991
Gòtál	4142
Jatègaum	9136
Chalisgaum	46,561
* ———	6322
Khanapore	51,169
Kershole	44,320
* ———	15,432
Cumbhari	121,973
Khandála	51,239
Mánic Coje	5467
Mèhony	12,500
Valoje and Nizampore	189,764
Total	2,445,880

SIRCAR OF DOULUTABAD (CONTINUED).

SIRCAR OF JALNAPORE.

10 PERGANAHS.

Jalnapore	166,066
Amber	341,810
Ectumi	27,659
Pertore	301,977
Bhòcarden	56,247
Pipri	111,313
Dábhári	92,190
Rájani	56,652
Roshengaum	87,246
Larsagavi	9498
Total	629,534

SIRCAR OF BERE 689,035

SIRCAR OF SANGAMNERE.

11 PERGANAHS.

Sangamnere	816,657
Ahmedabad and Pátwad	283,373
Akola	63,446
Bèlawa	35,955

* Those which are not specified, were either so in the original, or else illegible.

SUBAH OF AURUNGABAD (continued).

SIRCAR OF SANGAMNERE (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Trimbac	8482
Japherabad or Chamber	252,866
Ḍádòri	37,684
Dhăderphal	12,815
Sindher	28,890
Nassic or Gulshenabad	167,766
Varia	117,103
Total	1,855,087

SIRCAR OF TALA COCAN.

16 PERGANAHS.

Islamgur	77,199
Islamabad or Bheuri	241,774
Aminabad	28,549
Tanavelgoli	21,174
Khandarajàpori	9473
Murtizabad	160,053
Còthal	4307
Còdan	7364
Bhosát	7527
Bhorjèn or Calyan	193,220
Nasierabad	6226
Khèdarcote	40,274
Sángavy	26,831
Carnála	20,860
Vacas	2515
Wás	1232
Total	848,578

SIRCAR OF PEITAN.

3 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Peitan	270,041
Daurwari	31,948
Sendorvada	23,896
Total	325,885

SIRCAR OF AHMEDNUGUR.

10 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	71,005
Ashti	50,664
Pandèpèrgaum	348,668
Jamkhèra	67,315
Chámárgònda	141,407
Rásin	53,192
Sèvagaum	234,228
Cadèvalit	179,405
Nevasa	339,900
Nadore	26,764
Total	1,501,548

SIRCAR OF PERANDA.

19 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	344,908
Undergaum	106,203
Itt	19,837
Pangaum	39,489
Barsy	81,057

SUBAH OF AURUNGABAD (continued).

SIRCAR OF PERANDA (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Pángry	36,663
Bhòsa	35,618
Rátanjan	16,644
Sivergaum	980
Cánti	180,212
Carcamba	93,358
Mándava	66,643
Mardi	25,371
Mahòle	164,866
Wamsi	35,938
Bhûm	86,625
Tèrkhèra	8100
Tèbhuni	25,886
Wangy	33,680
Total	1,401,778

SIRCAR OF JUNER.

23 PERGANAHS.

Juner	383,420
Indapore	108,907
Párneir	174,547
Pònamával	13,105
Pòherkhòra	9578
Málwane Umer	23,218
Resúlabad	20,665
Ròherkhèra	9101
Sáswer	17,655
Sirole	40,000

SIRCAR OF JUNER (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Supa	75,819
Bhát Khòra	7500
Karadnimbòna	138,244
Gunjèn Máwal	11,712
Coredháras	1970
Còtúle	17,339
Poona (Moheyabad)	340,204
Musikhòra	10,000
Muminabad	59,994
Náne Máwal	19,632
Valèvari Khòra	4731
Sireswari Khòra	8091
Mutikhora	6105
Total	1,464,338

SIRCAR OF SHOLAPORE.

3 PERGANAHS.

Sholapore	72,544
Madarûp	136,952
Ahirvari	66,217
Total	275,713

SIRCAR OF JAVAR 30,000

SIRCAR OF DHARORE.

11 PERGANAHS.

Dháròre	166,275
———	139,629

SUBAH OF AURUNGABAD (continued).

SIRCAR OF DHARORE (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Pángaum	15,342
Berdapore	97,134
Perli	44,000
Pòhanère	39,968
Rèfpore	9796
Sirsál	25,761
Sèlgaum	76,649
Ghátnádore	9424
Khálvavir	5556
Total	629,534

SIRCARS.

	RUPEES.
Doulutabad	2,445,880
Jalnapore	629,534
Bere	689,035
Sangamnere	1,855,087
Tala Cocan	848,578
Peitan	325,885
Ahmednugur	1,501,548
Peranda	1,401,778
Juner	1,464,338
Sholapore	275,713
Javar	30,000
Dharore	629,534
Total, Aurungabad	12,767,193

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SUBAH OF BEEJAPORE.

SIRCAR OF BEEJAPORE DARUBZEFI.

30 Perganahs.

	RUPEES.
Havèly of Beejapore	515,322
Irry	114,267
Alamèla	157,083
Ukhly	88,747
Athany	69,466
Carazgy	99,770
Còtlapore, Nyavad	69,093
Còmer	20,263
Udey	13,126
Bilòti	5625
Bèrdály	83,666
Bágwari	102,880
Bidery	24,374
Mangalwarè	259,082
Ruly	18,350
Mulwari	44,255
Siddhanàth	5625
Sidgy	14,625
Cosempore	84,616
Gòte	83,598
Imalgy	18,469
Chádcavity	35,250
Jett	96,544
Tambè	63,323
Jibipore	41,815

SIRCAR OF BEEJAPORE DARUBZEFI (continued).

	RUPEES.
Hindore	15,125
Balèwari	111,502
Barèti	33,021
Bidergy	48,152
Balsinjy	63,984
Total	2,410,073

SIRCAR OF ASED-NAGAR.

12 Perganahs.

Havèly of Ased-nagar	70,043
Antepher	60,002
Cosègaum	83,564
Dawagaum	24,431
Islampore	47,100
Nájer	25,125
Bûdpaugòli	23,456
Bhaloni	56,250
Malevari	46,595
Velápore	22,500
Mahèsvari	11,250
Sángoly	60,003
Total	530,319

SUBAH OF BEEJAPORE (continued).

SIRCAR OF SAGAR (NESRETABAD).

5 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Havèly of Sagar	1,087,933
Camadávy	87,500
Langargògy	73,507
Tálicòtá	354,406
Dèvadurga	18,750
Total	1,622,096

SIRCAR OF RAIPORE (FIROZNAGAR).

9 PERGANAHS.

Havèly of Raipore	503,913
Alanpore	120,000
Ayejy	131,250
Cavitál	108,750
Nayáldela	50,000
Bhanu	168,750
Moselcal	135,000
Balèdòna	52,500
Darore	56,250
Total	1,326,413

SIRCAR OF TORAGAL.

16 PERGANAHS.

Havèly of Toragal	326,802
Ajgará	45,000
Mèst Salamet Khana	4158

SIRCAR OF TORAGAL

(CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Galgala (Cutebabad)	19,914
Jemk'hendi	96,750
Tèrdal	75,423
Nergund, (Bahadur)	75,000
Nevelgund	75,420
Badámi	239,735
* ——— Còte	306,316
Mozi jamgá	64,403
Mudhòlè	53,452
Máchlápore	34,772
Mudgul	84,105
Yádwari	46,000
Lòcapore	16,875
Total	1,551,125

SIRCAR OF MURTIZABAD.

6 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	347,168
Kèwaty	58,712
Ashty	33,526
Khanapore	40,698
Bergy	37,503
Maïsál	39,750
Total	557,357

* Blank in original MS.

SUBAH OF BEEJAPORE (continued).

SIRCAR OF RAIBAG.

12 Perganahs.

	RUPEES.
Havèly	150,000
Codál	94,185
Còlapore	176,287
Carhar (abad)	362,550
Khauri	67,500
Ajode	28,875
Nimsòr	26,250
Maïny	13,125
Valwá	75,000
Násore	65,000
Varuja	37,500
Bhálani	45,000
Total	1,141,272

SIRCAR OF NAHISDURG.

9 Perganahs.

Pernálá	153,000
Sattara	60,000
Chenden	20,786
Candanwanden	21,644
Táthòra	1125
Wahi	167,683
Vastaib	43,550
Peraly	22,500
Sirál	93,750
Total	584,038

SIRCAR OF CARNATIC.

53 Perganahs.

	RUPEES.
Sicál ac	459,835
Pingundá	415,288
Budhèhal	84,297
Bálápore (Khurd)	284,900
Bálápore (buzurg)	209,696
Basaupatan	479,264
Nuscòta	318,750
Islámpore	321,732
Armòre	43,200
Dèvermānac	67,510
Aniudy	64,800
Malpore	38,300
Urchèny	21,700
Málidaco	5400
Tamòver	193,668
Herore	46,632
Buláry samudi	22,500
Nimbagiri	6480
Timanore	222,255
Timelgad	24,375
Ecali còte	28,957
Mòhmangal	12,960
Nòvapore	7500
Rasulpore	25,000
Dèvalpore	331,031
Calicara	5400
Kètore	18,125
Sahámáròpoli	5791

SUBAH OF BEEJAPORE (continued).

SIRCAR OF CARNATIC (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Còcar	393,127
Surcápoli	45,000
Dèvanhali	96,750
Selmelcárjen	4340
———	6950
Sevaganga	33,375
Bazdìcará	75,000
Ganganèswar	4368
Còrdni	41,250
Gudarhage	108,000
Herènhelly	4320
Mangari	1620
Mani Còlár	62,325
———	56,250
Mairálá	3240
Wernpaly	64,800
Kelkhervary	5400
———	158,645
Murler	4320
Raipatan	21,600
Dèven	59,625
Tamurganga	24,625
Socore	66,675
Total	4,946,851

SIRCAR OF AZEMNUGUR, OR BALEGAUM.

15 Perganahs.

Havèly	278,350

SIRCAR OF AZEMNUGUR, OR BALEGAUM (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Ajèra	56,250
Cápsi	30,000
Mahpore	78,991
Gocáak	11,250
Shahpore	46,867
Mansari	15,000
Tole	37,500
Merkikhánápore	37,500
Mujali	50,193
Canti	53,893
Sòlapore	61,125
Sedelgaum	12,872
Tubevali	318,750
Tulari	175,975
Total	1,354,516

SIRCAR OF ADONI (IMTIAZGUR).

6 Perganahs.

Havèly of Adoni	1,120,466
Carnoul	388,610
Murgore	75,000
Dàney	35,610
Behori	63,750
Fecalcòte	101,250
Total	1,784,686

SUBAH OF BEEJAPOOR (continued).

SIRCAR OF MOOSTUFUBAD.

8 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Havèly	162,168
Muzufurbad	349,581
Regnah	33,750
Gathal	262,500
Kelnah	79,226
Kotah	671,835
Mansee	55,000
Kharaputun	76,332
Total	1,690,392

SIRCAR OF GAZEEPOOR (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Moosuljapoor	29,303
Mooknoor Malwa	10,547
Yelgore	20,718
Yelnor	15,187
Wamulkote	20,637
Ikhlaspoor or Siral	103,125
Rawalkote	18,750
Derulpareh	18,750
Total	930,236

SIRCAR OF GAZEEPOOR.

23 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	88,742
Abehal	9,375
Kaelkootee	48,313
Koondeekoor	5,062
Kunehkul	112,500
Chagulkuree	28,125
Jutgom	2,500
Puroopul	13,312
Bijugulpulu	84,375
Beteejchuroo	18,350
Seedapoor	101,250
Roopungooree	41,250
Dhewar	35,650
Bhundeeuntdoor	35,040
Kokah	69,375

SIRCAR OF BUNKAPOOR.

16 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	257,456
Masoor	15,000
Koondgole	909,037
Karudgee	120,000
Kumdarun	41,250
Dharwar, or Nusrutabad	120,129
Nurgul	54,377
Gudmee	313,105
Misreecotah	97,500
Lukmesur	259,529
Rynabelee	82,500
Hulehhul	24,581
Bajgul	37,500
Banehulee	68,761

SÛBAH OF BEEJAPOOR (continued).

SIRCAR OF BUNKAPOOR (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Hurryhur	10,368
Riseehalee	131,903
Total	2,542,996

SIRCAR OF MAHUMEDNUGUR.

7 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	528,357
Oorgunee	75,053
Jerrah	59,287
Hurrunhulee	5,312
Chundgoortee	14,125
Julunhulee	110,044
Sodah	150,000
Total	942,178

SIRCAR OF MOODGUL.

13 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	198,248
Ilmul	3,750
Kooshtgee	30,000
Kunermutoo	15,000
Kopul	279,216
Komtoos	33,750
Tuweregarah	56,250
Gungawutee	20,625

SIRCAR OF MOODGUL (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Yeldroog	74,116
Ruveegodah	108,375
Seedpoor	105,652
Bengood	37,500
Kunukgee	7,500
Total	969,982

COUNTRY HELD BY THE ZEEMINDARS OF SERINGAPATAM.

28 TALOOKS.

Seringapatam	35,851,361
Talook of Bednore	10,263,615
—— Sodhera	733,735
—— Chitledroog	1,125,000
—— Nydroog	720,871
—— Butweh	75,000
—— Chiricla	93,750
—— Turkerah	172,500
—— Rutungeoree	93,750
—— Taurerkerah	123,150
—— Mugotoo	225,000
—— Kaseekote	187,500
—— Korutkorah	75,000
—— Humalwaree	37,500
—— Mudungeeree	93,750
—— Naekpole	15,000

SUBAH OF BEEJAPOOR (continued).

COUNTRY HELD BY THE ZEEMINDARS OF SERINGAPATAM (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Talook of Yeeneemul	45,000
—— Unkaseh .	18,750
—— Harponelly	1,029,960
—— Anagoondee	173,550
—— Gugneegouree	991,165
—— Shukungeeree	37,500
—— Bahoree .	86,250
Total	52,268,657

SIRCAR OF NULDROOG.

8 PERGANAHS.

Havèly . .	215,518
Aludee . .	199,668
Goonjootee .	192,111
Tere . . .	56,250
Neelingeh . .	195,000
Dharasene . .	34,966
Dhokee . .	81,110
Mahehwaree .	53,737
Total	1,025,360

SIRCAR OF KOLBURGA 715,562

SIRCARS OF BEEJAPOOR.

	RUPEES.
Sircar of Beejapoor .	2,410,073
—— Asudnugur .	530,319
—— Nusrutabad .	1,620,096
—— Firoznugur .	1,326,413
—— Toregul .	1,561,125
—— Moortuzabad .	557,357
—— Rybagh .	1,141,272
—— Naheeshdroog .	584,038
—— Carnatic .	4,946,851
—— Azimnugur, or Balegaum . .	1,354,516
—— Imtiaz Gurh, or Adoni . .	1,784,686
—— Mooslufubad .	1,690,392
—— Ghazeepoor . .	930,236
—— Benkapoor .	2,542,996
—— Mahumednugur	942,178
—— Moodgul .	969,982
Country held by the Zeemindars of Seringapatam . .	52,268,657
Sircar of Nuldroog	1,025,360
Total gross revenue of the Soobah of Beejapoor, exclusive of Kolburga . .	78,880,009

SUBAH OF MOOHUMUDABAD, OR BIDUR.

SIRCAR OF HAVELY.

8 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Havèly	109,305
Antrapeh	29,514
Korehmoogee	120,934
Chitgopeh	193,678
Nittoor	68,727
Baulkee	197,861
Yekbalee	40,347
Husunabad	178,489
Total	938,855

SIRCAR OF FIROZGURH, OR YADGEER

134,365

SIRCAR OF NANDEREE.

44 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Havèly	177,237
Ouseh	330,610
Ardapoor	26,889
Indoor	240,813
Oodgeer	266,997
Kuliat, or Kulnas	26,449
Kundek'here	3128
Ooleh	10,641

SIRCAR OF NANDEREE (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Bhokur	25,820
Moogut	24,771
Mood'hole	176,349
Mupeh	112,478
Malore	118,655
Rajoor, or Kelauretpoor	36,465
Kotgeer	69,809
Koobhateh	17,674
Kundhar	44,411
Khoreveesad	14,941
Khurkhe	13,049
Khodaurundpoor	17,415
Julkote	1875
Neermul	141,327
Temboornee	53,775
Degloor	141,452
Burchuret	94,857
Bhaserbuser	29,736
Bodun	147,765
Burehnar	80,000
Busuntnugur	293,002
Dharhee	6441
Lhogom	186,058
Lageertoor	86,937
Wanola	51,794

SUBAH OF MOOHUMUDADAD, OR BIDUR (continued).

SIRCAR OF NANDEREE (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Wurvula	284.108
Waunktoo	67,957
Wagdhe	15,000
Walkoonda	131,450
Bemgul	156,200
Wuseh	17,153
Sonpete	14,436
Seeradone	79,273
Sarhoo	78,488
Hurbalee	9982
Hateh	16,120
Total	3,846,687

SIRCAR OF AKULKOTE.

7 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	233,144
Bungwaree or Mumudmednugur	163,802
Maunoor	33,327
Detached villages	14,517
Oorchene	18,472
Deedrungeh	4878
Mashal	10,877
Total	479,017

SIRCAR OF KALIAN.

2 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Havèly	76,546
Prulaubpoor	130,457
Total	270,003

SIRCAR OF RAMGEEREE.

No Perganahs detailed	782,844

SIRCAR OF MOOZUFURNUGUR.

14 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	22,240
Ootkoor	12,234
Kaulgurh	112,500
Kadolee	20,305
Chitapoor	300,804
Neergoondee	34,539
Sernah	18,768
Mungulgurh	23,133
Wirmam	37,500
Nagnal	56,250
Aumerchitah	33,750
Kurepchoor	78,750
Chicholee	342,607
Kankoontee	112,500
Total	1,205,680

SUBAH OF MOOHUMUDABAD, OR BIDUR (continued).

SIRCARS OF MOOHUMUDABAD, OR BIDUR.	RUPEES.
Sircar of Havèly .	938,855
—— Firozgurh, or Yadgeer . .	134,365
—— Nanderee .	3,846,687
—— Akulkote .	479,017
—— Kalian .	270,003
—— Ramgeeree ..	782,844

SIRCARS OF MOOHUMUDABAD, OR BIDUR (CONTINUED).	RUPEES.
Sircar of Moozufurnugur	1,205,680
Total gross revenue of the Subah of Moohumudabad, or Bidur . . .	7,594,451

SUBAH OF BERAR ELICHPOOR.

SIRCAR OF GAWIL.

45 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
District of Elichpoor	289,441
Anjengom, 68 villages	105,370
Ashtee, 223 ditto	125,639
Ajee, 69 ditto	20,997
Arwee	40,000
Arrusgom	90,697
Karuzvasvun	65,190
Deveeapoor	176,743
Dammoree	37,962
Nandgom	120,102
Ner	32,607
Padul	17,462
Podul	11,900
Pulaskere	18,100
Noosud	16,851
Karzebeebee	81,966
Kamergom	13,317
Korah	104,030
Kurkah	14,910
Kolapoor	115,848
Chicklee	1800
Vevus	7118
Bhoogom	100,347
Mungrool	61,077
Wheheekoomergom	36,142
Reokoor	123,583
Miriagwaree	1396

SIRCAR OF GAWIL

(CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Vesroolee	18,083
Wurnere	119,630
Morchee	58,706
Bautkoolee	91,634
Mapul	1142
Muzbeh	29,831
Mauna	73,431
Manjurkere	19,282
Sirisgom	61,008
Serol	24,817
Sursonee	103,925
Salwur	36,629
Batgom	20,026
Duroorakah	21,448
Walgom	16,838
Eudhe	35,580
Nandgom Kanjee	111,759
Total	2,643,012

SIRCAR OF PONAR.

4 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	50,348
Geereedmandgom	208,723
Setnoor	13,931
Keljur	30,000
Total	303,002

SUBAH OF BERAR ELICHPOOR (continued).

SIRCAR GHYR UMLEE,

OR IN WHICH GOVERNMENT HAD NOT BEEN ESTABLISHED.

4 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Havèly	1959
Vranoor	15,000
Boobas	39,375
Vejee	5000
Total	61,334

SIRCAR OF CHANDEH.

7 PERGANAHS.

Votnoor	250,000
Serpoor	90,000
Joosgom	160,000
Bijoor	25,000
Goontoor	60,000
Kaisur	65,000
Seetagoree	1000
Total	651,000

SIRCAR OF ISLAM GURH.

Havèly or Deogurh, 49 mubuls, with sayer customs	1,144,943

SIRCAR OF WASIM.

9 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	114,034
Ooseh	36,316

SIRCAR OF WASIM (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Bamnee	41,782
Kulumpooree	73,458
Kerdamnee	39,602
Taunklee	5279
Charton	52,899
Mungrool	84,732
Nursee	195,540
Total	533,642

SIRCAR OF MEHEKUR.

11 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	214,053
Omrapoor	50,335
Boree	26,981
Dewulgbelet	74,586
Reesurun	66,226
Sindkher	102,210
Seerpoor	116,705
Jafirnugur	158,863
Sonar	83,981
Mulkapoor	78,924
Wakud	33,859
Total	1,006,653

SIRCAR OF MAHOR.

20 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	95,259
Ansing	41,721

SUBAH OF BERAR ELICHPOOR (continued).

SIRCAR OF MAHOR (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Oomurkhere	152,454
Veegoolee	25,432
Poosund	39,702
Tamseh	31,115
Chicholee	31,117
Chicknee	36,340
Durwha	83,523
Dhankee	4775
Judapoor	22,416
Sindkhere	25,542
Shewul	34,550
Girolee	75,575
Maturngom	2599
Kinol	24,590
Mahagom	39,763
Balupwarhone	36,264
Munnateh	16,872
Soyeteh	6122
Total	823,731

SIRCAR OF NARNALA.

37 PERGANAHS.

Akote, 98 villages	208,333
Argom, 92	258,064
Aurungabad, or Geeroo-mawurgom	23,277
Akole, 216 villages	178,813
Kolkee	38,009

SIRCAR OF NARNALA (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Kiweetul	30,997
Kuroodkhere	45,287
Chundore	72,580
Jypoor	8563
Julgom	122,452
Dehareh, 86 villages	135,415
Levadeva, 2 ditto	2976
Dharoor	19,754
Nimbgaon	23,183
Manoor	45,334
Waregom	13,199
Peepulgom	69,399
Punchgonhan	57,700
Peerjur	36,287
Barsee Taklee	26,625
Runveehus	28,434
Bulapoor	591,248
Mulkapoor	209,160
Mahagom	96,659
Kahun	7990
Malapoor	30,000
Mulungurh	118
Ryhingurh	20,436
Rajoor	13,083
Kunroor	12,039
Wurnur Moojee	41,772
Sazwul	17,494
Warner Nagaee	128,173
Pabooree	49,117

SUBAH OF BERAR ELICHPOOR (continued).

SIRCAR OF NARNALA (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Patoor	29,709
Seerkoorgom	156
Total	2,691,835

SIRCAR OF KULUMB.

25 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	10,456
Omrawatee	14,420
Indoor	39,861
Koorhar	14,283
Dongur	4600
Tulegom	413,890
Larker	21,597
Vel	30,910
Boorputtun	61,334
Nachungone	76,850
Tookehchand	197,219
Naeegom	15,543
Pohuneh	52,097
Buroodeh	6871
Yenees	30,835
Yewutlamber	7335
Wareep	7022
Tulehgom	49,766
Sulwur	16,039
Total	743,105

SIRCAR OF KEDUL.

24 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Havèly	22,989
Aheler	13,895
Ashta	7036
Patneh	20,746
Pounee	1308
Marvu	2674
Kusud	18,667
Sangner	5499
Sucker	12,826
Muheens	17,443
Amner	81,505
Juroor	14,442
Wuroor	86,439
Jumker	61,070
Jamgom	2074
Jamgurhchicklee	1500
Moollapee	23,828
Jamgurh	30,272
Total	430,143

SIRCAR OF PATHREE.

11 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	353,984
Purmunee	247,555
Waloor	139,506
Nachungom	29,539
Bhogom	6820

SUBAH OF BERAR ELICHPOOR (continued).

SIRCAR OF PATHREE (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Taklee	4761
Jharee	54,837
Illtoor	52,513
Seolee	48,885
Kousuree	23,099
Lohogom	53,314
Total	814,813

SIRCAR OF VELULWAREE.

9 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	20,318
Oomngom	64,040
Chandwur	19,011
Chicklee	7844
Dhar	19,151
Dharoor	65,230
Suwuludbore	4662
Seonee	1800
Seoneh	35,203
Total	237,259

SIRCAR OF TUTEH KEDUL 95,981

SIRCARS OF BERAR ELICHPOOR.

Sircar of Gawil	2,643,012
——— Ponar	303,002
Sircar not in the possession of government	61,334
Sircar of Chandeh	651,000
——— Islam Gurh	1,144,943
——— Wasim	533,642
——— Mehekur	1,006,653
——— Mahor	823,731
——— Narnala	2,691,835
——— Kulumb	743,105
——— Kedul	430,143
——— Pathree	814,813
——— Velulwaree	237,259
——— Tuteh Kedul	95,981
Total gross revenue of the Subah of Berar Elichpoor	12,180,463

SUBAH OF KANDESH BOORHANPOOR.

SIRCAR OF ASEER.

P33 ERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Jamner	88,600
Chadseer	65,306
Julod	90,455
Dangree	64,101
Dahornee	99,747
Rawer	246,222
Jynpoor	171,865
Sawud	94,313
Sendoornee	21,050
Songeer	55,923
Ellilabad	176,026
Dhoola	82,724
Lohar	32,922
Mumdapoor	22,805
Chopeeh	243,471
Nuseerabad	208,801
Havèly of Boorhanpoor	304,540
Aseer	156,852
Arundoul	151,200
Ambeh Patoor	36,845
Amulner	96,513
Ooturan	98,977
Pachor	42,924
Badul	53,164
Betaured	75,473
Dharungom	55,659

SIRCAR OF ASEER (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Bedwar	60,145
Bomar	42,654
Burgom	47,254
Yawul	234,247
Bhyver	13,911
Pempuldol	68,432
Talner	127,064
Total	3,430,185

SIRCAR OF BAGLAN.

30 PERGANAHS.

Oojbonee	7612
Aurungpoor	900
Aurunggurh	331
Pankereh	7790
Peepla	10,992
Duwul	2375
Dhyteh	4750
Peepulner	44,162
Peesol	47,791
Teelouee	27,708
Jopul	5659
Jylapoor	37,856
Dang	4761
Dhyvel	12,662

SUBAH OF KANDESH BOORHANPOOR (continued).

SIRCAR OF BAGLAN (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Rypoor	78,039
Sarus	26,229
Seereesahul	362
Sultangurh	36
Sulseh	18,968
Nimboee	14,459
Karolee	19,699
Huthgurh	12,118
Hursool	1991
Kasurtul	51
Petchowa	1624
Bharootul	1615
Mawul	125
Total	390,675

SIRCAR OF GALNA.

7 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	75,976
Ookaree	13,775
Petpol	18,288
Toktor	12,896
Chikulwahul	20,056
Lohoner	23,819
Jamtabad	49,342
Total	214,152

SIRCAR OF BIJYAGURH.

33 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Havèly	70,813
Islamabad	7602
Amlayut	10,344
Ajeera	1170
Sangvee	15,838
Sultanabad	27,599
Sindweh	6031
Soranch	1593
Tooj	26,282
Dhamgom	9969
Bensuree	56,681
Putkeleh	1238
Buroda	1287
Boodhe	14,450
Duroor	22,695
Buldewur	25,312
Bhodungom	91,545
Jululabad	49,790
Chumbaree	23,005
Dewulkuna	7865
Turukhabad	14,601
Kaudapoor	20,886
Kusrawud	22,893
Ghoregom	12,203
Waronee	29,914
Nandwaree	6218
Konoor	6166
Mumdapoor	50,915

SUBAH OF KANDESH BOORHANPOOR (continued).

SIRCAR OF BIJYAGURH (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Nakulwara	9063
Nambad	4599
Juvelee	65
Akburpoor	10,500
Wundul	8,253
Total	627,185

SIRCAR OF NUNDOOBAR.

4 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	343,740
Bhameree	117,090
Sultanpoor	181,177
Ner	31,104
Total	673,111

SIRCAR OF HUNDEEAH.

25 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	26,985
Atoreh	10,391
Hulbharee	1175
Kanasee	3000
Burenee	4624
Jamgom	9300

SIRCAR OF HINDEEAH (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Tembhoornee	7415
Kundweh	113,885
Moodhee	24,571
Batkeh	80,923
Nuseerabad	1100
Charkol Punchkol	82,000
Ihok	53,314
Sajnee	24,023
Seojee	37,307
Noosurabad	55,900
Kootner	12,625
Total	548,538

SIRCARS OF KANDESH BOORHANPOOR.

Sircar of Aseer	3,430,185
—— Baglan	390,675
—— Galna	214,152
—— Bijyagurh	627,185
—— Nundoobar	673,111
—— Hundeeah	548,538
Total gross revenue of the Subah of Kandesh Boorhanpoor	5,883,846

SUBAH OF HYDERABAD.

SIRCAR OF MAHOMEDNUGUR.

12 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Golconda	7,704,426
Havèly	15,683
Atnoor	146,200
Balapoor	18,335
Wutulcheroo	173,625
Junwarah	24,913
Hoosun Saghur	9812
Hyatnugur	25,841
Sarutabad	13,315
Moodgul	93,222
Abdoolanugur	31,393
Jercondah	156,712
Total	8,413,507

SIRCAR OF KUMJOTH.

Havèly	158,077
Anunt Saghur	38,410
Kundee Koonda	63,802
Sidhajee	17,934
Julehpoolee	67,974
Nijalkor	22,374
Shukurgeeree	9778
Husunabad	38,576
Mudoorah	36,070

SIRCAR OF KUMJOTII (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Gungeeree	93,418
Kundulwaee	33,551
Total	579,964

SIRCAR OF DAJGUL.

4 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	324,894
Tudunveeal	129,375
Nugtool Maytoor	108,766
Anoorgoor Kotkat	150,000
Total	713,035

SIRCAR OF BHOWUNGEEREE.

11 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	164,569
Innoodural	20,000
Tergodur	24,319
Tigool	45,877
Vemul Koonda	61,581
Oodumuree	71,515
Cherool	49,698
Rajkoondah	134,835

SUBAH OF HYDERABAD (continued).

SIRCAR OF BHOWUNGEEREE (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Shahnugur	57,884
Koldajee	66,010
Nundeegoonda	67,110
Total	773,398

SIRCAR OF DEWURKOONDA.

11 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	258,854
Indoor	59,549
Ibrahamputun	146,687
Detur	63,976
Chileepalkurpulee	14,972
Charkoonda	152,490
Dewelpulee	35,274
Mongoreh	10,627
Wuzeerabad	98,642
Wulehoval	58,279
Konboorg	119,520
Total	1,012,870

SIRCAR OF MULUNGOO.

3 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	93,452
Moohusunabad	33,750
Raj Gopalpoor	47,066
Total	184,268

SIRCAR OF CHICACOLE.

	RUPEES.
No Perganahs detailed	840,822

SIRCAR OF NIZAMPUTUN

246,000

SIRCAR OF KAN ILMAS

255,000

SIRCAR OF MOOSTUFUBADNUGUR.

24 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	99,042
Kuriat Ibrahimnugur	6300
Amulmudoolee	264,474
Bujwaree	58,301
Bheeturjulee	34,328
Denug Chikolee	45,207
Jummulwaee	24,287
Dewurkotah	22,158
Kuldeetoo	25,491
Goomdoor	67,107
Golpulee	36,393
Mooree	74,676
Noomoor	30,505
Gungageer	7546
Moojgaon	26,769
Muddoor	94,087
Judgacon	487,185
Poomustal	63,746
Wuraee Summudgopoor	14,000

SUBAH OF HYDERABAD (continued).

SIRCAR OF MOOSTUFUBADNUGUR (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Kanat	5300
Wuneekoora	104,132
Oopoor	44,915
Medoorghut	23,859
Total	1,669,231

SIRCAR OF WARANGOLE.

16 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	66,933
Vemulkoonda	93,620
Vijyanugur	93,622
Goleepar	9747
Kotghut	28,294
Oodla	46,700
Kutakpoor	16,449
Chetkulee	7010
Pakal	55,347
Golekoondah	52,301
Belkoonda	26,825
Mubaruk Husunabad	103,828
Summutmufak	58,282
Yelkoor	14,500
Chundurgeer	23,992
Durkoul	24,680
Total	722,170

SIRCAR OF MOULAS.

5 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Havèly	265,893
Gundharee	36,590
Ootloor	47,736
Narainker	183,417
Satalee	126,028
Total	655,664

SIRCAR OF KURNULGOONDA.

6 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	256,982
Darchoor	22,585
Nagilburh	28,459
Oodurkoonda	56,629
Aravdulee	143,618
Ooruvkoonda	13,615
Total	521,888

SIRCAR OF KAYULKOONDA.

13 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	207,125
Koheer	176,979
Mujaweedpoor	17,801
Tudoorvekeli	216,073
Doulutabad	54,526
Darkee	96,829

SUBAH OF HYDERABAD (continued).

SIRCAR OF KAYULKOONDA (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Shahalpoor	17,408
Purvee	48,141
Koorgul Kosgee	171,646
Bahedulee	12,580
Dorveli	40,955
Doorgul	25,922
Kelpulee	54,547
Total	1,140,532

SIRCAR OF GUNPOOR.

8 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	159,088
Genmurungkula	38,033
Akulkotgul	5906
Akurabad	37,515
Tareekot	39,176
Oodul	12,113
Kondoorg	638,622
Badkulee	12,888
Total	943,341

SIRCAR OF MOOSTUZANUGUR.

5 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	679,952
Koloor	17,500
Belumkoonda	106,068

SIRCAR OF MOOSTUZANUGUR (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Veneekoonda	302,185
Rypooree	62,000
Total	1,167,705

SIRCAR OF MEDUK.

12 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	385,264
Ibrahimpoor	32,264
Adloor	117,790
Putloor	109,778
Judrool	58,125
Yekmal	62,619
Nursapoor, or Sultanpoor	79,178
Gujwul	194,576
Saludpoor	275,600
Veloor	31,699
Hutunwurna	162,234
Gondidoor	12,856
Total	1,525,003

SIRCAR OF YELGUND.

21 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	123,557
Anuntgeeree	52,204
Vijijgeeree	79,881

SUBAH OF HYDERABAD (continued).

SIRCAR OF YELGUND (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Arseekot	44,486
Kotruk	66,127
Dhorumkoonda	56,846
Namepulee	18,818
Kutkoor	42,032
Wundeedeeghut Kulee	17,966
Seeghurnee	51,002
Wurchawul	80,058
Seengurna	82,276
Nundgeeree	69,947
Polas	69,925
Nadoolnulgoonda	49,670
Rachruk	141,350
Koondmyal	24,636
Veelkoonda	84,205
Tokleekoonda	23,584
Veladulee	7375
Velook	43,500
Total	1,299,445

SIRCAR OF VEBOOR.

11 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	141,339
Oorgol	45,000
Pedpar	31,344
Utlee Ashté	106,200
Kazee Malwa	32,010

SIRCAR OF VEBOOR (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Gorputlah	21,600
Net	63,631
Koroor	25,500
Kolatporee	13,591
Budurbhoo	42,183
Waree	40,214
Total	562,612

SIRCAR OF MUCHLEEBUNDUR, OR MASULIPATAM.

8 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	339,855
Toobul	22,508
Boorwara	16,751
Nursa	17,453
Angoodee	19,645
Awuneekot	91,070
Denaoo	18,109
Todoor	15,528
Total	540,919

SIRCAR OF RAJMUNDREE.

23 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	50,311
Unturbar Dyroo	59,153
Kareekora	39,664

SUBAH OF HYDERABAD (continued).

SIRCAR OF RAJMUNDREE (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Pegra	1713
Kolroo	5955
Korwykoonda	14,730
Chetdulee	5130
Bulowul	36,451
Koree Kuruspulee	24,555
Berara	32,600
Torpak	3677
Putpoor	56,738
Chakulmunyak	17,321
Yetgul Yetko	53,850
Kotpal Durkot	58,350
Arnalkota	2554
Bure Sinoor	47,240
Wuruzkemar Kullamhal	10.968
Total	520,960

SIRCAR OF GOOTEE.

13 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	154,831
Chereingunmulla	138,761
Oorkoonda	128,826
Kuroor	24,414
Oodurkheekoonda	26,487
Chenukpulee	36,967
Timnayekcheroo	57,463
Yarkee	119,244
Dynmurree	47,127

SIRCAR OF GOOTEE (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Pamree	18,686
Bulsyputun	87,262
Peeyadhalee	26,000
Yerteemuralcheroo	33,755
Total	899,824

SIRCAR OF GURUMKOONDA.

12 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	135,904
Oorloor	120,327
Koteealpetpulee	33,475
Goreejalhulee	27,042
Duvepak	32,500
Mudunpulee	39,000
Korpal	58,500
Goomjure	97,500
Pooynoor	97,500
Mudulpoor	28,925
Husunabad	66,218
Seewungurut	98,182
Total	835,073

SIRCAR OF SEEDWUT.

8 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	127,694
Chedoor	120,236

SUBAH OF HYDERABAD (continued).

SIRCAR OF SEEDWUT (continued).

	RUPEES.
Poormamla	55,537
Babool	54,476
Kamlapoor	133,740
Potkujar	92,872
Do'oor	182,974
Ghoogulnaoo	33,783
Total	800,712

SIRCAR OF GATEKOTE.

15 Perganahs.

Havèly	261,391
Kadree Kotukool	230,109
Chudulkeloo	168,685
Doom	33,340
Dhurumwurum	65,000
Porunpulee	37,716
Patoor	32,006
Mulyal	32,436
Womuk	65,937
Wuleloo	77,005
Kanilmas	29,250
Goojarmulwa	47,671
Torputree	88,213
Tumla	149,451
Doolwupuk	52,580
Total	1,370,790

SIRCAR OF KUMNA.

18 Perganahs.

	RUPEES.
Havèly	140,571
Atnoor	33,150
Adzumeeumunhal	118,303
Oopar	157,630
Hasilmalbundur	21,125
Kochul	74,318
Goorjal	54,108
Tegura	91,491
Machruk	56,034
Poduk	35,917
Areemutuk	16,250
Karumporee	34,385
Dursee	59,506
Toomurgor	13,136
Chimnoor	39,038
Pelkoor	45,474
Korla	85,800
Hasil Rahdaree	994
Total	1,077,232

BELOW THE GHATS.

SIRCAR OF CHUNGULPET.

3 Perganahs.

Havèly	423,372
Muneemungul	66,500
Mawulkane	21,700
Total	511,572

SUBAH OF HYDERABAD (continued).

SIRCAR OF KUNCHEE.

15 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Havèly	67,950
Visnookunchee	88,185
Kurgoolee	274,210
Kawereebala	87,825
Kourgulchegulwurna	92,781
Oohumulpoor	73,450
Moosurtank	67,304
Suluktank	75,163
Pedal	43,491
Poree	9271
Peearmudaja	21,726
Oolkota	39,726
Dehuturnee	25,327
Doja	19,686
Nurayunwamun	46,426
Total	1,032,482

SIRCAR OF NUSRUTGURH.

8 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	287,000
Teowujna	105,000
Deumuna	17,500
Vidoorvenoonunee	21,000
Vetwulum	105,000
Aspoor	35,000
Teerkutloor	122,500
Teerwukpoor	26,250
Total	719,250

SIRCAR OF WULGORAPOOR.

5 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Havèly	249,512
Teogooteepinalee	70,000
Yeldunsoor	280,000
Mungloor	28,000
Koofar	24,000
Total	651,512

SIRCAR OF VELOOR.

8 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	202,692
Maltoor	130,000
Oodeealka	90,000
Nuleevyachgat	30,750
Agrum	30,000
Arnee	99,332
Vircheepoor	45,000
Anoor	120,000
Total	747,764

SEWAPULEE.

12 Perganahs	641,594

OODGEEREE.

6 Perganahs	627,236

SIRGAR OF WUNDWASEE 574,760

SUBAH OF HYDERABAD (continued).

SIRCAR OF TIREEASOOR.

10 PERGANAHS.

	RUPEES.
Havèly	193,804
Joonur	71,228
Joonebalee	131,234
Bundurkotputun	4200
Sidebundee	14,175
Dehutkonawuleepoor	1801
Kadeerdanamawal bunaee	5425
Cheenaputun	4200
Pryulghat	35,000
Mylapoor	21,000
Total	481,067

SIRCAR OF TREECHENOPOLY

	18,560,000

SIRCAR OF TANJORE

	14,273,543

SIRCAR OF PALUMKOTA.

12 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	30,165
Ootgaon	17,500
Gonoorapoor	21,000
Kayu Knagoondee	210,000
Teelnuguree	8000
Cheedbadur	7000
Sree Mooshtee	35,000

SIRCAR OF PALUMKOTA (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Mahmoodbodun	7000
Seoputun	24,500
Jirdhachul	350,000
Wurearpul	87,500
Bhowungeeree	21,000
Total	818,665

SIRCAR OF CHUNDERGEEREE.

10 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	13,912
Kotdapoor	17,771
Chinoor	138,745
Tirputee	52,500
Puleewud	14,000
Sitoor	17,982
Suptoeer	28,073
Peshukdapalegaraut	100,625
Omerpooree	5285
Kalhustee	64,925
Total	453,758

SIRCAR OF JUGDEO.

19 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	42,000
Tirpasoor	141,064
Kulavenapoor	26,250

SUBAH OF HYDERABAD (continued).

SIRCAR OF JUGDEO (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Chanukbaree	164,500
Korpoor	28,000
Eroor	66,500
Kushnageeree	17,500
Kavereeputun	210,000
Buklurkot	105,000
(Name omitted)	229,260
Kyloor	42,402
Rutungeeree	112,000
Kanekanbalee	52,500
Dhurumwurum	183,750
Neerbhudrudroog	87,5000
Yekeenkot	157,500
Rykot	192,500
Chenaputun	1,372,402
Total	3,229,628

SIRCAR OF TIRNAMUL.

11 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	263,070
Singreeputun	21,000
Kulgoorchee	109,200
Moolkar	64,500
Poloor	157,500
Parulna	100,170
Duroeer	52,500
Chugmar	63,000

SIRCAR OF TIRNAMUL (CONTINUED).

	RUPEES.
Munloorpet	26,250
Kuncheepulee	24,500
Terpalwamud	17,500
Total	901,190

SIRCAR OF WULBAR.

9 PERGANAHS.

Havèly	152,250
Telaneloor	44,450
Ternamulletoor	43,750
Deonaputun	52,600
Goorloor	17,500
Nounubad	106,600
Vekuldeo	35,000
Veltoor	262,500
Tirulee	210,250
Total	924,900

SIRCARS OF HYDERABAD.

Sircar of Mahomednugur	8,413,507
—— Kumjoth	579,964
—— Dajgul	713,035
—— Bhowungeeree	773,398
—— Dewurkoonda	1,012,870
—— Mulungoo	174,268

SUBAH OF HYDERABAD (continued).

SIRCARS OF HYDERABAD (CONTINUED).	RUPEES.
Sircar of Chicacole	846,822
——— Nizamputun	264,000
——— Kān Ilmās	255,000
——— Moostufubad-nugur	1,669,231
——— Warangole	722,170
——— Moulas	655,664
——— Kurnulgoonda	521,888
——— Kayulkoonda	1,140,532
——— Gunpoor	943,341
——— Moostuza-nugur	1,167,705
——— Meduk	1,525,003
——— Yelgund	1,299,445
——— Veboor	562,612
——— Muchleebundur	540,919
——— Rajmundree	520,960
——— Gootee	899,824
——— Gurumkoondah	835,073
——— Seedwut	800,712
——— Gatekote	1,370,790

SIRCARS OF HYDERABAD (CONTINUED).	RUPEES.
Sircar of Kumna	1,077,232
——— Chungulpet	511,572
——— Kunchee	1,032,482
——— Nusrutgurh	719,250
——— Wulgorapoor	651,512
——— Veloor	747,764
——— Sewapula	641,594
——— Oodgeeree	627,236
——— Wundwasee	574,760
——— Tireeasoor	481,367
——— Treechenopoly	18,560,000
——— Tanjore	14,273,543
——— Palumkota	818,665
——— Chundurgeeree	453,758
——— Jugdeo	3,229,628
——— Tirnamul	901,190
——— Wulbar	924,900
Total gross revenue of the Subah of Hyderabad	73,536,426

SUBAHS OF THE DECAN.

	SIRCARS.	MAHALS.	GROSS REVENUE.
Aurungabad	12	135	12,767,193
Beejapoor	19	272	78,880,009
Moohumudabad	7	77	7,594,451
Berar Elichpoor	14	262	12,180,463
Kandesh Boorhanpoor	6	132	5,720,846
Hyderabad	42	405	73,536,426
Total	100	1283	

Total gross revenue of the Subahs of the Decan 190,679,388

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NOTE 40.

Ali Ibrahim Khan was, possibly without exception, the most respectable native ever known by the English. Yet, at the conclusion of his Mahratta History, finished in 1786, when the miserable Shah Alum was under the most degrading thraldom, is the following passage:—"Considering what had happened to Wiswas Rao, "in consequence of his presumption, both Sindia and Sevai Mha- "doo Rao respected the king's authority, *and have therefore pro- "spered. How great is that king by obedience to whom prosperity is "obtained, and by disobedience to whom ruin is brought on.*"

Ali Ibrahim Khan was living at Benares, and could be swayed only by Mooslim pride to write such palpable absurdities. Not so the historian at the Nizam's court. He wrote for a patron, and on pleasing that patron his security depended. Is such a man worthy of credit?

NOTE 41.

Amrut Rao is the present Peshva's half-brother by adoption. It was partly on his invitation that Jeswunt Rao Holkar came to Poona. Amrut Rao's son, a fine boy, was to have been made Peshva, and would have continued so had not Bajee Rao resorted to the British government. Amrut Rao, alarmed at the situation

to which his own folly and treachery had reduced him, abandoned his interested ally Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and concluded a treaty with General Wellesley, by which he received a pension of seventy thousand pounds per annum. He resides at the usual place of disappointed ambition, Benares.

NOTE 42.

With the most consummate Asiatic perfidy was this assignment made to the Mahrattas; and quickly and justly was he punished for his treachery. Yet we have affected to rejoice at liberating this venerable representative of the house of Timoor from the Mahratta yoke; a yoke he voluntarily imposed on himself. What is Timoor to us, or we to Timoor; we govern, as he did, by the right of conquest; and the revival of the claims of his wretched descendants is a species of false glory, as inconsistent with real humanity as it is incompatible with our interests. The higher we raise the family the more insatiable will be their demands, the more extravagant their expectations.

NOTE 43.

Various accounts have been given of this ceremony. I do not mean to add to the number; but I think it worth while to remark, and I have seen numbers, *that* in no instance did I observe the least appearance of fear in the manner or countenance of the

deluded victims, or the slightest sign of intoxication. Yet this is the religion, a religion not merely suffering, but encouraging these horrid ceremonies, which some have been hardy enough to compare—almost to prefer—to the religion of the Gospel. Truly we live in perilous times, when men are bold enough to avow that the state of religion and morals among the natives of India needs no improvement. When strong hints even are thrown out that we might imitate them: imitate them in their habitual perversion of truth, in their total want of feeling, in their encouragement of human sacrifices.

NOTE 44.

" It has been already set forth, that after the dismemberment " of Berar, a revenue or country estimated at three crore of " rupees still remained to the Peshva. At the commencement of " the present troubles, the chout in the Carnatic and some districts " on the Toombudra, in all amounting to twelve lacs of rupees, " were ceded to Hyder to secure his friendship during the im- " pending contest. In like manner Doulutabad, with its depend- " encies, rated at twenty, and yielding ten lacs of rupees, were " transferred to the Nizam. Brodera and other Perganahs in " Guzerat had long been held an hereditary fief by the Guickwar, " for which they were bound to perform military services with " ten thousand horse, and were more especially considered as " the guardians of Ahmedabad. But by the defection of Futy " Singh, and territorial losses in Guzerat and Kokan, a farther

" diminution of fifty lacs of rupees may be placed to the account " of the war with the English while the late treaty with Sindia, " and the consequent dismemberment of his hereditary fiefs in " Malva and Candesh, rated at twenty-five thousand horse, sup- " ported by a revenue of sixty lacs of rupees, threatens instant " destruction to the Poona state."

NOTE 45.

The following statement of the Peshva's revenue is given by Lord Valentia, but it must be considered as his nominal and not his realised income. In one instance, that of Ahmednugur, I know it to be wrong, aud I suspect it is so in many others.

		RUPEES.
In Guzerat	Ahmood	200,000
	Jumboseer	500,000
	Duboy	125,000
Cokan		900,000
Severndroog		200,000
Above the Ghats, N. and W. of Poonah	Juneer	1,000,000
	Sungumner	1,000,000
	Ahmednugur	400,000
Added by the treaty of Seringapatam	Savanoor	872,838
	Bankapoor	751,268
	Darwar	415,608
	Bundelcund	800,000
	Total	7,164,724

Although I conceive this statement to be inaccurate, not from any want of inquiry in the noble author, but from the unsettled and fluctuating state of the Peshva's government, it does not comprise an entire estimate of his revenues. Whenever any grant of land is issued, the Peshva always receives a considerable sum, and this frequently occurs. He also receives large presents upon acknowledging the succession of heirs to the grants of their fathers or deceased relations, and large gifts upon several of the Hindoo festivals. Also upon his own marriage, as well as upon the marriages of his principal chieftains. The revenues of Ahmedabad, amounting to nearly five lacs of rupees, with presents to the sum of thirty thousand rupees, are also omitted in the above statement. But in others they have been greatly exaggerated, as in Bundelcund, which is stated at eight hundred thousand rupees, where the Peshva's authority has been barely acknowledged for these several years, and if ever admitted, never to the payment of his arrears of revenue. But were the Peshva's just demands upon the Guickwar, and the Soubedar of the Decan, to be paid, he would receive at least a million of pounds; although he continually prefers these claims, and their justice cannot be disputed, he must have long since despaired of ever having them cancelled. Whether it has proceeded from the neglect of his servants, or from extreme poverty, I know not; but it has sometimes happened that money has not been provided to pay the expenses of his journies, and that without one of his chieftans, usually Cundy Row Rastia, had furnished him with the means, he would neither have had servants to attend on his person, nor money to have defrayed his expenses.

NOTE 46.

It is somewhat remarkable that the enlightened mind of my Lord Wellesley should have viewed this subject in so obscure and vacillating a light. "The Mahratta chiefs possess no ac- "knowledged right to conclude separate engagements with foreign "states, unless the tacit permission to make conquests should be "thought to confer that right; but, even in this case, it must also "be inferred, that they have not the right to conclude engage- "ments affecting the Peshva's supremacy. They *are bound to* "*pay allegiance to the Peshva, and are to all intents and purposes* "*officers and subjects of the Mahratta state, of which the Peshva is* "*the supreme executive authority.*" Appendix 9, to the notes. Yet, in the face of this argument, Lord Wellesley had concluded a treaty with the Guickwar; and, upon the Peshva's remonstrating against it, was told that he had no concern in it. Is it only since we admitted the Peshva to the benefits of our alliance that we have become so wonderfully delicate of his rights and pretensions? Even since, in the very teeth of an express article in the treaty of Basseen, we concluded a treaty with his brother Amrut Rao, agreeing to grant him an annual pension of seventy thousand pounds. This was concluded without the Peshva's knowledge. The treaties of peace with Sindia and the Raja of Berar were also concluded without the Peshva's knowledge; and yet, according to Lord Wellesley, Sindia was but an officer and subject of the Mahratta state. Yet the grand uncle of this subject had been the guarantee

of the treaty of Salbhye; and it seems rather singular that a servant should be a guarantee for his master. But I may be told that this did not occur under his Lordship's government. No, but it did under a governor who united the simplicity, with the vigour and talents, of the first of Romans in Rome's best days. In the ninth article, however, of the treaty of Deogom, and fourteenth of Surjee Anjengom, it is expressly stipulated that residents shall reside at their respective courts. For what? if the Raja of Berar and Sindia are servants and officers of the Peshva. Lord Wellesley, upon concluding a subsidiary engagement with the Guickwar, justly derided the Peshva's right of interference; and nothing but a wish to argue upon the imaginary principles of the Mahratta constitution, could have misled a mind at once so discriminating, and of such commanding powers. Lord Wellesley, fairly enough, fought the enemy with their own weapons; treating them as feudatories and servants when they attempted to escape the effects of their own acts by so scandalous a subterfuge. Thus General Wellesley admirably repelled the necessity of Sindia's consulting the Peshva, by hinting, if that were necessary, he must then be in rebellion.

In reply to one of Sindia's ministers, saying the Peshva must be consulted, the General replied, "He would answer for the Peshva's consent," but observed that "he had hitherto talked to them under "the notion that Scindia was *the head of a state;* and if, instead of "that light, he wished to be considered as the Peshva's servant, the "case was so much altered as to render a different system neces- "sary, and he hinted, in that case, that the *Maha Raje was* "*now in rebellion.*" (Appendix, Part 2. page 40.) This was

a fair answer to so scandalous an evasion; but how are we to reconcile the following speech of the same officer to the same minister? "In respect to the Peshva, Major-General Wellesley "denied that his power was identified with that of Doulut Rao "Sindia, or *that the latter was any thing but the subject of the* "*former.*" Appendix, Part 2, Appendix H, page 12, Calcutta edition.

Such are the contradictory and fluctuating opinions of two of our most celebrated characters; not resulting from want of information, but simply from receiving the subjects through a Mahratta medium, and assuming their interested statements, as a just elucidation of the principles of their constitution. A Mahratta chieftain is a free agent so long as his affairs are prosperous, and he is strong enough to maintain his independence; but the moment he experiences a reverse of fortune, he then becomes the willing servant of an imaginary master.

NOTE 47.

This was the case under the administration of Nana Fumareese.

NOTE 48.

For an account of these sacred isles, see Captain Wilford's Essays in the Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. and ix.

THE END.

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